INDIA

IN

1920

IN
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1921

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1920

A Report prepared for presentation to Parliament in accordance with the requirements of the 26th Section of the Government of India Act (5 & 6 Geo. V., Chap. 61)

BY
L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS
Fellow of All Souls :
Director, Central Bureau of Information
Government of India

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Initial

इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति
चन्द्रलोक. जवाहर नगर
दिल्ली द्वारा
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी पुस्तकालय को
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FOREWORD.

THROUGHOUT 1920 India, in common with other countries, suffered from the heritage of unrest bequeathed by the war. In her case it assumed the form, not of disorder, but of an instinctive reaction against the more materialistic aspects of western civilisation. Economic, political, and religious discontents combined to foster this movement, which towards the end of the period under review attained proportions calculated to delay India's advance towards responsible government within the British Commonwealth. But there are now signs that its more extravagant manifestations are falling into discredit, as the desire of India for self-expression finds increasing satisfaction in the opportunities provided by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. That great constitutional experiment has now been initiated under happy augury. The steadfast determination both of the Indian and of the English subjects of His Majesty to work together in harmony for India's uplift is amply apparent; and after the storms of this troublous year, the ship of state seems destined to follow her new course steadily and swiftly. But if the political horizon seems clearing, the clouds have not yet vanished. India has recently witnessed the most remarkable peaceful revolution of modern times. The spirit of autocracy to which she has for long been accustomed, is henceforth to give place to the spirit of responsibility. Such a change cannot but be productive, at least for the moment, of uneasiness and of misapprehension on the part of many. The minds of men are disturbed, and it may be long before the country attains tranquillity. None the less the stir which now manifests itself is the stir of new life. Ancient barriers are crumbling before the desire for national unity; pride in India's past is giving place to hope for India's future. Despite all the difficulties that beset her path, no one who studies with impartial eye the progress which she has achieved of late, can doubt that this future will be great indeed.

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NOTE.

Throughout this Report, except where there is specific mention to the contrary, the new ratio of Rupees 10=£1 has been adopted.

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इन्द्र विद्यावाचस्पति
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India in 1920.

CHAPTER I.

India and her Neighbours.

Rarely of recent years has it been so borne upon the student of politics that India is an integral portion of Asia, as in the course of the period under review. It is impossible to understand on the one hand the relations between India and Afghanistan, and on the other hand the relations between India and the Frontier Tribes, without some knowledge of the stormy back-ground of Bolshevik activity upon which both in greater or less degree largely depended.

India and Bolshevism.

In the course of the year 1920 the Soviet Government of Russia has delivered itself in no uncertain terms of its opinion concerning Great Britain, its accredited spokesmen, Lenin, Trotsky and Tchitcherin, having from time to time asserted that the British Empire stands forth as the main antagonist of the doctrines which they profess. Nor did the unveiled hostility of the Soviet Government find expression in words alone. It became increasingly plain as the period under review proceeded that the Bolshevik threats of attack upon India could no longer be ignored. Their activities in Central Asia during the period with which we are dealing were of sufficient importance to necessitate a brief description.

After the October Revolution of 1917, Russia no longer found herself in an advantageous position for directing her activities against Persia, Afghanistan and India. Trans-Caucasia had fallen away from her and was split up into independent republics such as Azarbaijan, Georgia, Armenia and Daghistan. On the other hand Russian Turkistan was in a state of the utmost chaos. So long as the counter-revolutionary forces of Koltchak and Denikin remained in being and Russo-Polish hostilities continued, the Communists found it impossible to devote to their policy of aggression in the East that attention which they felt it

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required. But in the course of the year under review the successive defeats of Koltchak and Denikin, the conclusion of terms with Poland, and the victory over Wrangel gave the Moscow Government a freer hand. Aided by armies of propagandists they succeeded in consolidating for the moment at least their position in Trans-Caucasia and Turkistan. Towards the end of April 1920 the Bolsheviks were able to overthrow the republican Government of Azarbaijan and to erect a Soviet in its place; Daghistan also became honeycombed with Bolshevik intrigue and an obedient vassal of the rulers of Russia. The rivetting of Soviet control over these two little republics not merely secured command of the railway to Baku but also made possible the commandeering of oil, food stuffs and private property, for the benefit of starving Russia. In this process the Azarbaijanis were reduced to a condition of absolute destitution, with the result that risings against Soviet tyranny became of frequent occurrence during the summer of 1920. From May onwards, Baku itself was held in an iron grip, but the country round about would have nothing to do with the Bolsheviks. A sedulous campaign of propaganda, based upon the preposterous argument that Bolshevism, the sworn foe of all religions, is compatible with the tenets of Islam, prepared the way for further advances. The practice of the Soviet officials did not however square with their precepts; and wanton oppressions of the Mussalman population goaded the sturdy Tartars to madness. But ill-equipped peasants and workmen could not achieve success against better disciplined Red armies, and the only result of these movements was to provoke reprisals so ruthless as to shock Muslim sentiment.

Bolshevism in Central Asia.

With the Christian republics of Georgia and Armenia, the propaganda which had served the Soviet so well among the Mussalmans of Azarbaijan and Daghistan was useless. Command of the resources of these two countries was however vital if hands were to be joined with the Turkish National forces of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who with Angora as his headquarters, was at this time rallying Turkish sentiment to resist the Treaty of Sevres. Common opposition to Great Britain and the Allies served to reconcile, at least for the moment, such traditional enemies as Russian Bolsheviks and Turkish Nationalists; with the result that from the middle of 1920 the alliance of Bolshevism and Islam was openly proclaimed. Strenuous attempts were now made to undermine the republican governments of Georgia and Armenia. In the autumn Red troops

Bolshevik Advance.

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occupied Tiflis and entered the Persian town of Enzeli, further seizing Resht and advancing to Menjil on the Teheran road. In great triumph the Bolsheviks summoned an Oriental Congress at Baku, which should advertise to the world the triumph of communism, and sound the death-knell of British power in the Middle East. But scarcely had the Congress met, before Muslim feeling, bitterly incensed at Red insults to Islam, broke out in fury; and the Bolsheviks found themselves obliged to withdraw not only from Tiflis but also from Baku. Batum fell into Georgian hands, and for the moment the Trans-Caucasian Railway passed out of Communist control. But the Turkish Nationalists then stepped in by attacking Armenia from the South. Situated as it was between two fires, the Armenian Republic after a despairing appeal to the League of Nations, made the best of a bad situation by proclaiming itself a Soviet Government. At the moment of writing, its soil is occupied jointly by Russian and Turkish troops. The latter having done most of the work of subjugation, now find themselves about to be ousted; and it may well be that this strange alliance of Turk and Russian will split once and for all over the Armenian question.

Turkistan.

In Turkistan the future is equally uncertain. Aided by its temporary command of the railway to Baku, the Soviet Government had established itself with a base to the west of the Caspian which enabled its work to be extended eastward. Turkistan had for some time been nominally under Bolshevik control, and the capture of Krasnovodsk in February stamped out the last element of counter-revolutionary resistance. But the bulk of the population were still opposed to communism. Oppression had been practised and the resources of the country ruthlessly exploited for the benefit of distant parts of Russia. About the beginning of this period, the Bolsheviks initiated a policy of conciliation, and having by this means rendered their rule more secure, with Tashkent as their centre embarked upon a widespread campaign of propaganda. During the summer of 1920 they applied themselves to the task of securing greater control over the conservative Amir of Bokhara, who, with the

Bokhara.

support of the major portion of the population of his State, resisted them so far as he was able. But gold and propaganda did their work, and by degrees a "Young Bokharan" party, composed largely of refugees, adventurers and the scum of Central Asia, was brought into existence in the heart of the Amirate. At the end of August, all being prepared, the Bolsheviks fomented a revolution in Bokhara, and using this as a

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pretext, completed the establishment of a Soviet Government by force. The fall of an independent Mussalman principality of such importance excited no little perturbation in the Islamic world.

The steady advance of the Bolshevik power towards India which has been outlined in the preceding paragraphs has not been without effect upon India's relations with the powers upon her border. Persia and Afghanistan now alone remain to separate her from Bolshevik intrigue; and towards their subversion the Soviet Government has begun to bend its energies. In Persia the situation throughout the year was delicate. From time to time, since the Armistice, British forces have helped the Persian people to maintain the integrity and independence of their country; and British statesmen, at Persian instance, have offered assistance towards the reorganisation of the Persian military and administration system. Unfortunately for Persia, there exists an influential party which was seized with suspicion that Great Britain would acquire too much influence in the country; and this fact gave the Bolsheviks an opportunity for intervention, of which they availed themselves. At Enzeli and Resht as we have already seen, they went too far and sustained a set-back that seriously damaged their prestige. But in deference to English opinion as to the necessity of limiting rigorously our own commitments in the Middle East, our forces withdrew from the Bolshevik zone. His Majesty's Government made it plain that British troops could not be employed indefinitely to protect Persia against Bolshevik aggression: and that she must make up her mind, before December 31st, 1920, either to accept or to decline the assistance proffered by the Anglo-Persian agreement. Bolshevik propaganda, exploiting the anti-British suspicion to which reference has been made, succeeded in preventing the ratification of the Anglo-Persian agreement within the time fixed. This was hailed as a triumph of Bolshevik diplomacy, and from the point of view both of Persia and of India is to be lamented, as facilitating the operation of that disruptive propaganda, which the Russian Soviet Government knows so well how to employ.

Persia.

In Afghanistan also, the Bolsheviks have been making persistent efforts to gain a foothold. It will be remembered that one of the terms of the treaty of peace signed on the 6th of August 1919 at the end of the third Afghan War, provided that if the Afghans showed that they were sincerely desirous of regaining our friendship, we should be prepared, after six months, to receive a mission for the discussion and settlement of matters

Afghanistan.

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of common interest to the two Governments, as well as for the re-establishment of the old friendship on a satisfactory basis. During the early months of the year 1920 considerable doubt was felt in India as to the attitude of the Amir. While the few communications which he addressed to us were markedly friendly in tone, there was little practical proof of any desire on his part to cultivate the friendship of Great Britain. The Amir found himself in a position of no little difficulty; and throughout the whole of the year 1920, his desire to remain on friendly terms with Russia and Britain, while at the same time avoiding what may be called an entangling alliance with either, seemed to be apparent. There can be no doubt that for some time the Afghans have cherished the idea of a great Islamic federation of the states of Central Asia, Khiva, Bokhara, Ferghana and Turkistan, under their own ægis. This scheme naturally does not suit the Bolsheviks, who dislike the very idea of a strong Islamic *Staatenbund* blocking their path to India. Accordingly they have been holding out counter-attractions. In the course of 1919, an Afghan mission had been despatched to Moscow, and had received what was construed as a promise of the restoration of the Panjdih area, formerly wrested from Afghanistan by the Tsarist Government. Early in January 1920, a Bolshevik mission, under Bravine, came to Kabul but concluded no negotiations for the cession of Panjdih and apparently attempted to employ Afghanistan as an advanced propaganda base, which it was not the Amir's intention to permit.

The Amir's Position.

It will be realised from the course of events previously described, that the rapid advance of Bolshevik influence, together with the reduction of Khiva, Ferghana, Turkistan and Bokhara to dependence upon Moscow, has for the moment at least rendered impossible the desire of Afghanistan to stand out as the head of a great Muslim confederation, besides having further added to the anxieties of the Amir. Early in the year 1920, he made the first advance towards a better understanding with India by putting forward a proposal for a conference of British and Afghan officials on the border. This proposal was not accepted; but he was informed that the British Government was prepared to permit a discussion between representatives, with the object of clearing away misunderstandings and of preparing a foundation on which negotiations for a treaty of friendship could be opened. In April, the Afghan mission was settled in Mussoorie, and for some time negotiations continued with a British delegation under the direction of Mr., now Sir Henry, Dobbs. But towards the end of April a succession of unpleasant Frontier incidents, which

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could hardly have taken place without the cognisance of local Afghan officials, necessitated the suspension of the negotiations at Mussoorie. After more than a month these incidents were adjusted to the satisfaction of both Governments and negotiations were again resumed. From that time forward they proceeded satisfactorily and towards the end of July, the Afghan delegation returned to Kabul there to lay the results of the conference before the Afghan Government. The subjects discussed included the proposed peace terms with the Ottoman Empire and their bearing from the point of view of Afghanistan on the question of the Khilafat; the frontier tribes; the international status of Afghanistan; the renewal of commercial relations with India; and the acceptance of British assistance towards the peaceful development of Afghanistan. The work which was accomplished in the Mussoorie conference was unquestionably useful, clearing the ground as it did for later and more formal negotiations. In October, the Afghan Government invited the Government of India to despatch an official mission to Kabul for the purpose of negotiating a treaty. Relations between Afghanistan and the Bolsheviks still continued; and the Bolshevik agent Suritz, as well as the Turkish general Jamal Pasha, continued to remain in Kabul at the same time as the British delegation. At the moment of writing it is impossible to state what the upshot of the negotiations with the Amir is likely to be; although it is much to be hoped both in the interests of Afghanistan herself and of British India that it will be found possible to revert to the old friendly relations of the pre-war period. The path to this may well be smoothed by the conclusion, immediately subsequent to the close of the period under review, of the Trade Agreement between the Soviet Government of Russia and His Majesty's Government, which, one hopes, will clear the general atmosphere.

Peace Negotiations.

The uncertainty of the relations between Afghanistan and India was throughout the period under review a dominating factor in our relations with the Frontier tribes. At the close of the period covered by last year's Report mention was made of the disturbed condition of the border, a result first of direct hostilities with Afghanistan and secondly of the persevering work among the Frontier tribes of agents whom the Afghan Government sedulously disowned. It will be remembered that throughout the last three weeks of August and right into September 1919 the Mahsuds and the Wazirs had continued their raids into our territory. Insecurity of life and property in the Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan

Border Affairs.

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districts had become intolerable; and after the failure in October 1919 of negotiations with the Tribal Councils of the Tochi Wazirs and the Mahsuds, punitive measures were undertaken against them. After due notice an intensive aerial bombardment began, but before long it was plain that the recalcitrant tribes could not be brought to reason by aerial operations alone. Just before the commencement of the period now under review a column advanced to Dattakhel, and the Tochi Wazirs accepted our terms. Troops were then transferred south, with Jandola as their base for operations, and on December 18th, 1919, our advance against the Mahsuds began.

Mahsud Expedition.

It must be realised that under modern conditions, in order to maintain a column of the size of the striking force employed in these operations, daily convoys of pack animals had to be despatched along the lines of communication. The protection of these convoys was rendered more difficult owing to the abundance of modern rifles now in the hands of the tribesmen. Adequate protection by means of escorts would have required a prohibitively large number of troops; a system was therefore introduced of establishing posts with permanent piquets at fairly close intervals on the most convenient ground on each side of the tracks used. These posts were strongly built for all round defence with thick barbed wire entanglements; and their construction led to the majority of the actions which took place during these operations.

Heavy Fighting.

Our troops fought their way steadily on to Mandanna Kach, establishing permanent piquets as they went. The fighting was very severe, as the Mahsuds undoubtedly expected Afghan help. They fought in a way they had never done before, their attacks being well organised, and their combination of fire and shock tactics being excellent. None the less by the 28th December 1919, the first phase in the operations was over. Very heavy losses had been sustained by the tribesmen, and they were considerably disheartened. We pursued steadily our policy of establishing permanent piquets, and advanced with little opposition to Kot Kai. On the 11th January severe fighting took place at Ahnai Tangi, which led to the capture of this ravine by our troops. We then advanced north of the gorge and on 14th January again encountered strong opposition. This fight was the most stubborn of the whole campaign, our casualties amounting to nine British officers killed and six wounded; ten Indian officers and 365 Indian other ranks killed or wounded. The enemy losses were estimated at about 400, killed or seriously wounded.

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Permanent piquets were established as usual and the troops moved forward again to the Sora Rogha plateau.

The period from the 29th December 1919 to the 20th January 1920 formed the second phase of the operations against the Mahsuds. It was a phase of steady progress and hard fighting in the course of which the resistance of the enemy was broken. We continued our advance steadily into the Mahsud country, and by the 6th March were established at Kaniguram. From this centre, punitive expeditions were directed to various localities and owing to the losses which the Mahsuds had sustained during the heavy fighting in our advance, practically all resistance now ceased and our troops were unmolested. On the 7th May the campaign came to a close. It had been marked by hard fighting and great severity, the enemy resisting with a determination and courage which has rarely, if ever, been encountered by our troops in frontier operations.

Termination of the Campaign.

The Wana Wazirs.

It still remained however to settle with the Wana Wazirs. Since June 1919, the attitude of this tribe has been consistently hostile. Their fighting men assisted the Mahsuds to resist our advance during the operations which have just been described, and played a prominent part in the fighting at Mandanna Kach and in the Ahnai Tangi battle. During the summer of 1920, there have been a series of raids and attacks on troops by the Wana Wazirs in the Derajat and Zhob; and since, between May and November 1919, they had been responsible for thirty-two raids and offences of various kinds, it became plain in the course of the period under review that punitive operations could not be avoided. One of the contributory factors to the misbehaviour of the tribesmen was unquestionably the presence among them of the Afghan adventurers Haji Abdur Razak and Shah Daula. Led astray by false reports as to the collapse of British power and attracted by specious promises, the Wana Wazirs indulged in a series of unpardonable offences against peace and order. Accordingly on the 10th October 1920, they were directed to attend a Tribal Council fixed for a month later, in which guarantees of their good faith in the shape of arms and a money fine should be handed over to us. But so little did they appreciate this period of grace that they carrried out a daring raid on the night of the 21-22nd October, inflicting heavy loss on the camp followers at the Kaur Bridge Camp. As the Tribal Council failed to meet on the date fixed, a column of our troops advanced from Jandola, arriving at Sarwekai on the 18th Novem-

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ber. Little opposition was encountered and a Tribal Council was held on the 20th which accepted our terms. A further twenty days' grace was allowed, within which certain preliminary conditions had to be fulfilled; but the tribal leaders at the head of the section which favoured peace were unable to secure the adhesion to this settlement of the younger and more adventurous tribesmen, excited as they were by the uncertainty of our relations with Afghanistan. On the 16th December 1920, operations were resumed, and the column moved forward to Wana which it reached on the 22nd December. Concurrently with this advance, a column from Fort Sandeman reoccupied the militia posts of Mir Ali Khel and Mogal Kot which had been abandoned since the 1919 troubles described in last year's Report. At the time of writing, however, the situation differs from that which obtained in 1919, because we now hold Wana and the posts of the Zhob with regulars, while the Gomal posts are still unoccupied. In 1919 on the other hand we held both the Zhob and the Gomal posts with militia and levies.

Border Policy.

The course of events which has just been described naturally raises the whole question of the policy to be pursued regarding the administration of tribal territory north of the Gomal valley. The policy of the Indian Government may be gathered from the following extract taken from a speech delivered by Lord Chelmsford on the 20th August 1920:—

"At our last Session I gave some account of the measures we were taking to restore the disturbed situation on the North-West Frontier caused by the Afghan War, and I mentioned that the rejection by the Mahsuds of our terms had necessitated the advance of troops into their country. The operations against the Mahsuds have now practically been brought to a close, and as the result of hard fighting we have occupied a central and dominating position in Waziristan. The campaign thus forced upon us, with its heavy cost in treasure and lives, has compelled us to bring under scrutiny the whole of our policy in this troublesome border tract. For many years, ever since we inherited from the Sikhs the task of controlling Waziristan, and especially since the Amir Abdur Rahman formally recognised it as lying within our sphere, we have followed the policy of non-interference with its inhabitants. We have, it is true, held two lines of militia forts, along the Tochi in the North and towards Wano in the South for the purpose of checking raids upon the settled inhabitants of India and upon the caravan traffic proceeding up and down the Gomal. But to this end we have employed mainly the Wazirs and

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Mahsuds themselves. We have not interfered with their internal affairs and beyond granting them subsidies, to enable them to live without raiding, we have had as little to do with them as possible. We hoped that, if we left them alone, they would leave us alone. This hope has, I regret to say, proved fallacious and the time has come when we can no longer shut our eyes to the fact. We have had a campaign, more or less important, against Waziristan on an average every four years—sometimes it has been called an expedition and sometimes a blockade. Since 1852 we have had 17 of these military operations, and since 1911 we have had four, including that just concluded. These have all been occasioned by deliberate aggression against us on the part of tribesmen, who have ravaged the plains whenever they saw an opportunity. During the last few years, when we were occupied first with the Great War and then with the Afghan War, their depredations have been bolder and more intolerable than ever before, since, in spite of our efforts to the contrary, they have obtained arms of precision from certain sources. During the Afghan War they swept over the border tracts of the Derajat and Zhob and even penetrated into the Punjab, robbing and murdering the peaceful villagers, especially the Hindus; and after the signature of peace with Afghanistan they became even more truculent and absolutely refused the lenient terms which we offered them in the hope of avoiding a campaign."

The old Policy.

"On a review of the facts we have now made up our minds that this continual and gratuitous provocation can no longer be suffered; and we have decided, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, that our forces shall remain in occupation of Central Waziristan, that mechanical transport roads shall be constructed throughout the country, especially roads linking the Gomal with the Tochi line, and that our present line of posts shall be extended as may seem necessary. It is not possible to set any limits to the period of our occupation, our main care being that we shall not lose the advantage gained during the past nine months at the cost of valuable lives and of much money; and that there shall be no recurrence of the series of outrages of which I have given you an outline. We hope that the peace which must eventually attend our domination of these tribesmen will bring its usual blessings in its train; that they may be weaned from their life of rapine and violence and may find both in material improvements in their country, such as the extension of irrigation and cul-

The new policy.

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tivation, and in civilising intercourse with India, a more stable prosperity than they have ever derived from their traditional profession of robbers and marauders."

"In order to improve our frontier communications we have, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, sanctioned the extension through the Khyber of the broad-gauge railway which at present terminates at Jamrud. I trust that the time may not be distant when the Afghan Government similarly may build railways down to their frontier, and that in this way a connection may be made between the two countries. Nothing, I am convinced, would more conduce to the mutual advantage and good understanding between the two countries than such a connection, and if the Afghan Government were to wish for it, I can assure them that we shall be ready to co-operate."

The Border in 1920.

From all that has been said previously it will be gathered that the administration of the border during the period under review has been a matter of grave anxiety to the authorities. In the North-West Frontier Province the most distressing feature of the year 1919-20 has been the abnormal number of dangerous and destructive raids upon peaceful inhabitants within our territories. The unrest which has swept over the tribes up and down our borders is in large degree a heritage from the third Afghan War. But there have been at work other forces, including the general disquiet consequent upon the world struggle; the presence in tribal areas of a large number of deserters from the army, mainly hot-blooded young men without employment and without means of livelihood; the perennial economic pressure of growing populations on land too poor to feed them; and fanatical excitement caused by the military misfortunes of Islam as mirrored in the glass of Indian political agitation.

Raids.

During the year 1919-20, no fewer than 611 raids took place in the Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan districts. They resulted in the killing of 298, the wounding of 392, and the kidnapping of 463 British subjects. Property to the estimated, though probably exaggerated, value of Rs. 30 lakhs was looted. The difficulties against which the officers of the North-West Frontier Province have to contend are now very great. Such numbers of modern rifles have poured into tribal territory through losses in action, desertions from our civil and military forces and the looting of Afghan stores during the third Afghan War, that almost any young man on the border who has a taste for a highwayman's career

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can obtain the necessary weapons with little difficulty. In addition to their possession of modern weapons, marauders now adopt organized tactics. Raiding parties frequently contain individuals who put to full use the military training they have received in the army and in militia. The system of piquets, of covering fire, of withdrawal according to plan, the use of the whistle and the numerical strength employed, make the modern raid very formidable. The participants have an intimate knowledge of the country, and invariably raid on the darkest night—a practice which makes aeroplane surveillance useless against them. Under present conditions it is generally possible to obtain effective assistance from the tribes in bringing marauding bands to justice. As an illustration of this it may be mentioned that in the case of an Anglo-Indian lady who was kidnapped from the Sadr Bazar at Peshawar, a pursuit party of Afridis was at once organised, the passes were blocked, and the lady was rescued within thirty-six hours without ransom. Everything that can be done to stop the depredations of the tribesmen is being done. Adequate preparations are made to inflict exemplary punishment upon such gangs as can be encountered; and precautions are taken for transmitting early information of raiding parties known to be out. The success of the defensive measures employed may be gauged from the fact that during the year 1919-20 forty-one raids were successfully repelled, 119 raiders were killed, 80 wounded and 41 captured. Among these exploits perhaps the most notable was the engagement and rout of a Wazir force estimated at 500 to 600 strong by mounted policemen in the Kohat district.

Precautions.

In the latter half of the year 1920, the success of these measures became more marked; indeed, considering the uncertainty of our relations with Afghanistan, and the general post-war unrest, which is no less pronounced in the North-West Frontier Province than in other parts of the world, the only wonder is that the trouble experienced has not been greater. During August, considerable excitement was caused by the emigration to Afghanistan, for religious reasons, of some 18,000 persons, who, under the influence of certain misguided men, sold their goods for a tithe of their value and trusting in God flocked towards the Khyber Pass. This remarkable occurrence is noticed more fully in another place, but may be mentioned here as symptomatic of the tension existing during 1920 on the border. Shortly afterwards another disquieting incident occurred. The efforts of fanatical agitators in the Manshera Sub-division resulted

The Muhajrin.

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in the working up of wild excitement which culminated in the repudiation of the British Administration and the erection in many places of a "Provisional Government." This movement collapsed with the arrest of the ringleaders; but the neighbouring Black Mountain tribes, having been persuaded that they were invulnerable to rifle fire, burnt and sacked some of our posts until they were brought to their senses by a severe repulse followed by aerial operations.

Other troubles.

In refreshing contrast to the lawlessness of the tribal areas north of the Gomal Valley during the year under review may be placed the history of corresponding areas in Baluchistan, where our sphere of administration extends right up to the Durand Line. It will be remembered that in last year's Report mention was made of the severe blow given to our administrative efforts in the Zhob district by the incursion of the Wazirs and Mahsuds who had followed upon the track of our forces in their withdrawal from Wana. The structure of peace and order which had been built up so carefully in forty years collapsed rapidly. But the foundations had been well and truly laid, and during the early months of 1920, the fabric of civil administration was again erected. The most difficult tribe of all, the Sheranis, evinced a keen desire to atone for past misdeeds; rifles were surrendered and old outlaws came in. But the disturbed conditions north of the Gomal combined with the continuance of military operations against the Mahsuds, exercised an unsettling effect upon Baluchistan. More marked even than this was the uncertainty along the border as to British relations with the Afghan Government, which was generally believed to be giving material help to the Mahsuds in their resistance. Most unfortunate was our failure to reoccupy the abandoned outposts in outlying parts of Zhob. This was inevitable; for the old Zhob militia, as was described in last year's Report, had become disorganised and was below strength. As time went on, and still no definite settlement was arrived at either with Waziristan or with the Afghans, these disturbing factors made themselves more and more severely felt. Tension and unrest began, of which the outward signs were a number of raids in Zhob, Hindubagh and Barkhan. The raiders were mostly outlaws, chiefly militia deserters, living in Afghanistan, and there attracting to themselves a number of bad characters from all parts of the Frontier. Mobile military forces were sent to the threatened areas, and small bodies of local scouts moved freely about the country. But

A marked contrast.

Baluchistan in 1920.

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owing to the support and asylum given to the raiders in Afghanistan, they had things very much their own way. These events largely discounted the effects which might have been expected to follow from the conversations begun in April between the British and the Afghan delegates at Mussoorie. In the middle of this month, moreover, a British subject, together with his son and his guest were carried off into Afghan territory, apparently with the cognisance of the local Afghan officials. This was followed by an epidemic of intensive raiding all along the border. Prompt steps were taken to deal with the situation. Troops were moved up in large numbers; all Afghan subjects in Chaman were promptly arrested; and the Agent to the Governor General demanded an explanation of the act of hostility. The kidnapped men were returned, and the incident was closed. This seemed to be the turning point in the history of an anxious period.

An anxious period.

The settlement which shortly occurred between the British and the Afghan Governments of disputes arising from this and other Frontier incidents, and the resumption of negotiations at Mussoorie, exercised a quietening effect. But for some time to come there was cause for anxiety and vigilance. The effect of the Turkish Peace terms published towards the end of May was not yet known; and there was a recrudescence of raiding and kidnapping. Some of the Afghan officials were the reverse of obliging in securing the prompt return of kidnapped British subjects. But during the last three months of the year a change for the better came over the situation in Baluchistan. There was a notable freedom from raids in the Zhob and Hindubagh areas, and the peaceful reoccupation of Southern Waziristan exercised a quietening influence upon the tribes. The old Zhob militia is gradually being re-organised as irregular levies, and confidence in British power is beginning to return. Already many outlaws long supposed to be irreconcilable are returning to settle in their own homes, and at the moment of writing things are more hopeful along the Baluchistan Frontier than they have been for some time past. The rapidity with which the administrative system of the province has recovered from the shock of last year cannot but fail to strike the observer.

Future prospects.

It need hardly be pointed out that the combination of the events just described has raised in an acute form the question of India's defence. Quite apart from the advancing tide of Bolshevism, which has

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caused heartsearching to all who are sufficiently far-sighted to cast their gaze beyond the immediate questions of domestic politics, the restless and disturbed condition of the Frontier has of itself been sufficient to excite considerable alarm and apprehension among thoughtful men in India. There can be little doubt that had the domestic condition of the country been more happy during the twelve months under review, public opinion would have concentrated itself to an unprecedented degree upon the problems of India's defence. As it was, however, there was a marked tendency on the part even of those whom the new constitutional reforms were about to place in a position of power and responsibility, to treat the defence of the North-West Frontier as being a matter outside the sphere of their interest. In part, there can be no doubt this attitude is a heritage from the past, from a time when the British authorities considered it unnecessary to take Indian opinion into their confidence or to explain to them the gravity of the danger of external aggression to which the country has been of late years from time to time exposed. In part, however, as will be explained more fully in the next chapter, the comparative apathy of Indian political leaders to the condition of affairs we have already described is due to the concentration of their attention upon matters nearer home. In proof of this assertion, it will suffice to contrast the general apathy displayed by public opinion regarding the imminence of the Bolshevik menace, with the keen interest excited by the proposal to institute a Territorial Army for India. During the year under review definite steps have been taken to dispose of the old accusation that it was the policy of the British Administration to "emasculate" the people of India by depriving them of opportunities for training in the use of arms. The plain truth about this accusation is, it may be pointed out, that those who now raise it belong to classes which have not up to the present time displayed either martial inclination or martial aptitudes; but since it is obviously desirable that educated India should receive such training as may enable it to take its share in the defence of the country under modern conditions, Government is proceeding to tackle the question systematically. During the war the opening of the Indian Defence Force to Indians of the educated classes did not produce a very appreciable response; but it must be frankly stated that in the press of wartime no particular pains were taken to make a success of what military opinion generally regarded as a dubious experiment. But

Problems of India's defence.

A Territorial Army.

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after the war, when the question of instituting voluntary and territorial forces was taken up seriously by Government, provision was made to the satisfaction of responsible opinion among the politically minded classes, for a real Indian Territorial army which should act as a second line of defence in case of invasion and should be brought up to a high standard of efficiency.

The re-appearance in a new guise of the old menace from the North West has during the year under review strengthened the general desire on the part of those responsible for the safety of India for a thorough overhauling of the Indian military machine. The breakdown in the Mesopotamian Campaign, the shortcomings revealed in the third Afghan War, and the increased difficulties under modern conditions of dealing with the recurrent turbulence of the border tribes, have combined to make it inevitable that such a desire should find satisfaction. With the termination of the world-war and the consequent demobilization of British forces in India, it has become a matter of great urgency to determine the nature and composition of the army which must be maintained for the defence of India. In last year's Report mention was made of the appointment of a Committee under the presidency of Lord Esher, to enquire into the Indian military system. The terms of reference included an examination of the administration and organization of the army in India, including its relations with the War Office and the India Office; a consideration of the position of the Commander-in-Chief in his dual capacity as head of the Army and Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; and an investigation of such other matters as might be considered relevant to the enquiry. During the first part of the period under review, this Committee was engaged in its investigations both in England and in India. At the beginning of October 1920, its report was published. Of the detailed recommendations contained in this document we cannot here speak; they will be found in an appendix. Broadly they fall into two parts. The first is an attempt to determine the part to be played by the Army in India in a scheme of Imperial defence; and the second is an analysis of the steps which must be taken to make the army, both in its administration and in its personnel, more efficient and more attractive to the right type of soldier. We shall have occasion in another place to notice the effect upon Indian opinion of the publication of this Report. But since that effect was in part at least due to misapprehension, we shall here confine ourselves to a more general view of the recommendations.

The Esher Committee.

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The Esher Committee plainly regarded Indian Army reforms merely as part of a much larger scheme designed for the proper co-ordination of the fighting forces of the Empire. The events of the world-war had made it perfectly clear that the old system, under which the various Dominions of the British Commonwealth had maintained their armed forces as separate units without mutual co-ordination and uniformity of policy, could not possibly survive. As a result of the great rally of opinion from all parts of the Commonwealth in favour of a unified organization of war effort, there arose, in the shape of the Imperial War Cabinet, a machine for the co-ordination of higher questions of military policy. Much misapprehension as to the effect of the Esher Committee's recommendations would have been avoided, if critics had realised that beneath them all was one underlying assumption. The Esher Committee believed that the survival in some form or other of the principle of an Imperial Cabinet composed of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions, was inevitable; and that this machinery would carry along with it some corresponding organization in the sphere of Imperial defence. The recommendations of the Esher Committee had as their guide-rule consistency with three great principles; first, the control by the Government of India of Indian military affairs; secondly, the assignment of due weight to the opinions of that Government in questions of Imperial Defence; and thirdly, the exercise of a considered influence by the Imperial General Staff upon the "Military policy" of the Government of India as upon that of the other Governments of the Commonwealth. Under normal conditions these principles might have been expected to reassure those critics who discovered in the detailed recommendations of the first part of the Esher Committee's Report an attempt to deprive India of control of her own forces and to make them a tool for Imperial aggression in Central Asia. Unfortunately, the phraseology of certain parts of the Report combined with some isolated *obiter dicta* unessential to the main project, was such as to lend these suspicions an air of verisimilitude. Indian opinion did not understand that the structure contemplated by the Esher Committee, in which the Army in India was to play its part as one unit of a co-ordinated whole, had not yet come into full existence. There was thus confusion in the minds of many critics between the supreme direction of the military forces of the Empire in an organisation such as that contemplated by the Esher Committee, and War

Defence Co-ordination.

Three Principles.

Misapprehensions.

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Office control. Nor was this all. The desire of the Esher Committee that the Chief of the Imperial General Staff should exercise what they unfortunately described as a "considered influence on the military policy of the Government of India" was interpreted to mean, not the general co-ordination of military resources, requirements and organisation—which was what the Committee intended—but the destruction of the fundamental British principle of control by the civil power over military matters. Had this mistake been made in a normal atmosphere, it would have been less serious. Under no circumstances, of course, can Indian political leaders be expected to look with favour upon any policy which seems, however remotely, either to deprive the Indian Government, over which they have legitimate aspirations for control, of unfettered direction of the Indian Army; or to hint at the possible employment of Indian forces for ends in which India herself is but partly concerned. None the less, the obvious desirability of co-ordinating, under proper safeguards, the military resources of the Commonwealth, would ordinarily have commended itself to Indian opinion on grounds of expediency alone; more especially as the adoption of such a plan was being favourably considered by the self-governing Dominions with whom India now claims equality. But it must be remembered that at the time when the Esher Committee's Report was published, public opinion both in England and in India was suffering from a severe reaction against the excessive expenditure involved in our long retention of post-war commitments in the Middle East. The troubles in Mesopotamia, and the rumoured agreement for the reorganization of Persia seemed in India to involve the continued employment for an indefinite period of Indian troops overseas at the expense of the British tax-payer. Hence it was that the recommendations of the first part of the Esher Committee's Report, which had as their aim the determination of the place of the Army in India in a future scheme for the military organization of the whole Commonwealth, excited a storm of reprobation. Under cover of this storm, which has not yet died away, the second main division of the Esher Committee's Report passed almost unnoticed. The aim of the second part was in brief to reconcile the existing discrepancy between service in the British and in the Indian Army; to improve conditions of service in the latter; and generally to secure for India the type of officer and man, both British and Indian, whom she will need more than ever under the conditions of responsible Government. It must be remembered that the total alteration in

Popular protests.

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economic conditions which the war has produced is a very serious handicap to the British personnel of the Indian Army. That compensation for the altered conditions of life in India which in the old days made Indian service so attractive, is now more than out-balanced by such disadvantages as poor accommodation, lack of medical assistance, losses on travelling and transfer, and a cumbrous code of leave and allowance rules. Towards the remedying of these anomalies the Esher Committee has made some useful suggestions; and it is much to be hoped that the cost will not be found prohibitive under the present conditions of Indian financial stringency. Valuable recommendations are also made in regard to the welfare of the rank and file. It is pointed out that British troops and their families are in many respects much worse off in India than they are at home. As the Committee emphatically note "The outlook of the present day soldiers upon life is widely different from that of their predecessors of the old army. They have neither their deep seated discipline nor their long suffering patience. They and their wives look for a reasonable standard of comfort and a somewhat different class of recreation. Their reasonable aspirations must be met and their idiosyncrasies must be sympathetically studied if they are to be a contented army while serving in India."

Recommendations.

Accordingly the Committee recommends that garrison clubs, gymkhanas, cinema theatres and the like should be placed upon a regular footing. Much attention is also given to the well-being of the Indian troops. It is recommended that schools should be provided to enable the sons of Indian Officers to enter the army on a footing with the sons of wealthier men. As in the case of the British ranks, so with the Indian sepoys there is much need for a more generous policy. Among the more important of the Esher Committee's recommendations is the institution of machinery for the systematic enlightenment of the sepoy as to his duties both as a soldier and as a citizen. In these days when the publicity inseparable from democratic institutions is recognized as a necessity of life in India as elsewhere, it is plainly desirable that the Indian soldier, upon whom in the last resort depends the security and honour of Indian nationhood, should be given an opportunity of acquainting himself with the duties and privileges of his position. At the moment of writing no final orders have yet been passed as to the details of the Esher Committee's Report; but it is important to notice that certain of these recommendations in the direction of a much needed decentralization

Army education.

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have already been put into practical operation. The army in India has since the 1st November 1920 been organised into four Commands. In each of these, Northern, Southern, Eastern and Western, there has been placed a General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, who with the assistance of an adequate staff is responsible for the command, administration, training and efficiency of the troops located in his area. Each command contains a certain number of districts, which in turn contain a certain number of brigade areas; the boundaries of Command and districts being so far as possible formed to correspond with those of definite civil administrations.

As we have already noticed, that which may be called the key-note of the Esher Committee's Report, namely the application to Indian problems of the "General Staff idea" has fallen discordantly upon Indian ears. This was in the main due to the unfortunate estrangement of feeling between the administration and the educated classes through causes partly external to India, to which reference has already been made, and partly domestic, as will be explained in the next chapter. It would be unfair, however, to exclude from the reckoning the lamentable strain which has been placed upon the ties of affection between India and certain other parts of the Commonwealth, through a succession of unfortunate occurrences. In response, we may recall, to India's war effort, the aspirations of her educated classes for her admission to a place among the self-governing Dominions of the Empire has now received formal approbation. The declaration of August 20th, 1917, with its announcement that the existing system of British rule in India is to be regarded as a prelude to the acquisition of responsible government by India finally set the seal upon the new policy; and the steadily awakening national pride of India was fostered in no small measure by the admission of Indian representatives to the Imperial War Conference side by side with representatives of the self-governing Dominions. It was therefore in no mood of meek subservience that Indian political opinion found itself confronted during 1920, as during 1919, with the question of the treatment of Indian settlers in various parts of the Empire. Mention was made in last year's Report of the resentment caused in India by a Bill passed in June 1919 by the Union Government of South Africa. This Act had been regarded as a departure from the spirit of the agreement arrived at in 1914 between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, in

India and the Dominions.

South Africa.

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accordance with which the Union Government undertook to administer existing laws especially affecting Indians in a just manner and with due regard to vested rights. Just before the opening of the period under review, the South African Government announced its intention of appointing a Commission to enquire into the question of Asiatics trading and holding land in the several provinces of South Africa. The Government of India therefore deputed Sir Benjamin Robertson, an officer with personal experience of South African affairs, to assist the Commission in its enquiry and to press for a sympathetic consideration of the Indian case.

Sir Benjamin Robertson's Mission.

In the beginning of 1920, a decision of the Transvaal Provincial Court, placed in danger certain rights which it was hoped had been secured beyond dispute. Considerable excitement was caused in India, and there was real danger lest intemperance of speech in the country should be turned to the disadvantage of Indian rights in South Africa by the powerful body of anti-Asiatic sentiment which there exists. Thanks however to the sympathetic attitude of Lord Chelmsford's Government, this danger was averted; and Sir Benjamin Robertson was able to place the Indian case very effectively before the Enquiry Commission. This Commission sat from March to July 1920, and at the moment of writing its recommendations have not been received in India. But in the middle of the year an interim Report recommended that with a view to encourage the return to India of those Indians who are desirous of repatriation, the Union Government should afford all facilities, including the provision of shipping and the relaxation of restrictions on the export of gold in the form of savings and jewelry.

The Interim Report.

The Government of India was not consulted upon this scheme, since the Union Government of South Africa was merely putting into force a section of an Act passed in 1914, which they were clearly entitled to do. But the Government of India did not regard the scheme as being in any sense a solution of the Indian problem in South Africa, and felt entitled to ask for assurances that the scheme would be in practice what it purports to be, namely, purely voluntary. They also suggested to the Union Government that an Advisory Committee on which Indians were to be represented should be appointed to advise the Repatriation Officer. On the whole question it must be remarked that India has everything to gain and nothing to lose by a careful investigation into what is sometimes called the "Indian menace" in South Africa; and it is much to be hoped when once the true facts of the case are known,

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the way will be paved for a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of the Indian problem in that country.

East Africa.

Even more disconcerting to Indian opinion was the course of events in East Africa during the year 1920. In last year's Report mention was made of the action of European Colonists in that locality, who urged that a policy of restricting Indian immigration should be adopted on the ground that the presence of Indians is antagonistic to the best interests of the African natives. During the course of 1920 a violent anti-Indian agitation took place in East Africa, despite the fact that the resident Indian population has been long established and possesses substantial interests. The pride of political India was bitterly hurt by the patent disproportion of representation upon the Legislative Council of 30,000 Indians and 10,000 Europeans in what is now known as Kenia Colony. Worse still from the Indian point of view was the suggested adoption of the principle of racial segregation in residential and commercial areas. Great anxiety was caused throughout the country by the threatened blow to Indian prestige and Indian interests. The Government of India's position in the matter is plain. It does not admit that there is any justification in a Crown Colony or a protectorate for assigning to British Indians a status in any way inferior to that of any other class of His Majesty's subjects. Throughout the period under review the Government of India constantly pressed this aspect of the case upon the authorities at home; and considerable satisfaction was caused to Indian opinion by the publication in December 1920 of a long and detailed despatch which placed before the Home Government the Indian point of view regarding the administration of Kenia Colony with all the strength and fullness that it deserves. At the moment of writing the issue is still under consideration; and it is earnestly to be hoped that His Majesty's Government will find it possible to deal firmly and equitably with the unreasonably anti-Indian spirit which now seems to be animating a portion of the European population of the Colony in question.

Fiji.

Two other unfortunate occurrences during the last twelve months combined to emphasize the bitter resentment excited in India by the combination of affairs in South and East Africa. The first was the outbreak of serious disturbances in Fiji at the beginning of 1920. It must be remembered that for some time past a good deal of attention has been directed both by the public and by the Government of India to the conditions under

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which Indian labourers in Fiji live. The unsatisfactory nature of these conditions caused the Indian Legislative Council to accept a Resolution pressing for the release of labourers from their indentures. As a result of the negotiations which followed, the Government of Fiji issued orders cancelling all the indentures of East Indian labourers with effect from 2nd January 1920. Certain housing and hospital reforms of an eminently necessary character were also to be carried out, and measures were to be introduced providing for representation on an elective basis of the Indian community in the Fiji Legislature. Arrangements were also made as far as was possible for the early repatriation of time-expired labourers who desire to return to India. In the beginning of 1920, however, serious labour troubles broke out among the Indian population of Fiji. In the beginning, the movement represented a strike designed to secure better pay and working conditions. Subsequently disorder developed and was forcibly repressed. Fortunately there were only a few casualties. But as might well have been expected, the whole incident caused much alarm in India. It was believed that the Fiji authorities were actuated by racial hostility towards Indians; that there was a determination on the part of the employers of the Island to suppress every attempt on the part of the Indian settlers to benefit themselves. The wild rumours which made their appearance in the Indian Press, contributed not a little to fanning the flame of dissatisfaction against the treatment which Indians were receiving in this as in other parts of the British Commonwealth.

The second of the occurrences to which reference has been made was the publication of an order by the Administrator of Tanganyika which was regarded as equivalent to an attack upon the rights of Indians resident in that Territory. But as the draft mandate for Tanganyika, which it is believed that the League of Nations is about to entrust to the British Empire, fully safeguards the rights of Indians, this particular incident may be regarded as closed.

Emigration.

In last year's Report mention was made of the arrival in India of a non-official delegation from the Governments of Fiji and British Guiana to consider the possibility of introducing a scheme of assisted emigration under which Indian labour might be made available in these Colonies. As was then stated, the Government of India left the whole question to be settled by Indian opinion. The Missions spent some time in ventilating the subject and shortly after the beginning of 1920 a resolution was accepted by the Indian Legislative Council appointing a Committee to

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meet the deputations and to make recommendations to Government regarding their proposals. Somewhat naturally, in the light of the prevailing suspicion as to the treatment which Indians in other parts of the British Empire were likely to receive, the Committee declined to make any definite suggestions to Government without the despatch of emissaries who might undertake an examination of conditions on the spot. There for the present the matter ends.

India and the Commonwealth.

It would be a mistake to adopt too pessimistic an attitude as to the relations between India and the self-governing Dominions even during the trying period we have just passed under review. In striking contrast with the acute difficulties in South and East Africa, there has been for some little time in Canada and Australia a more generous recognition of the fact that Indians as fellow-citizens of the Empire are entitled to considerate and equitable treatment. Mention was made in last year's Report of the fact that the Governments of these parts of the British Empire intimated their formal acceptance of the Resolution, passed at the Imperial War Conference of 1918, regarding the reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions. The principles enunciated by the Resolution were that while each country within the British Commonwealth has an inherent right of controlling the composition of its own population, British citizens domiciled in any British country, including India, should be admitted into another country for temporary visits; and that Indians already permanently domiciled should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children provided that the recognition of polygamy was not involved. It is easy to assert that this Resolution has suffered the fate of so many other pious aspirations, but a survey of the attitude of the Governments concerned leaves no room for doubt that an earnest effort is now being made to give effect to it. The Government of Australia, as a direct consequence of the Resolution, now permits Indian merchants and tourists admitted to Australia on passports, to remain there indefinitely so long as they preserve the capacity in respect of which the passport was issued. Indians already domiciled in Australia may bring in a wife and minor children; and proposals are to be formulated shortly under which Indians will be placed on an equality with other British subjects in regard to invalid and old-age pensions. The Government of Canada now permits Indians to enter that Dominion for purposes of pleasure and commerce, including temporary residence for the purpose of education; in New Zealand provision already exists for

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the admission of merchants, tourists and students of all nationalities; and here it is important to notice, domiciled Indians have the same rights in all respects as Europeans. Lately, however, a new Act has been passed which has restricted further Indian immigration.

The effect upon Indian opinion of the relationship between Indian and 'White' settlers in various parts of the Empire has been extremely marked during the period under review. Indian pride in her newly awakened nationality has been bitterly hurt by what she considers the studied refusal of justice. This is the more serious in that during the period under review there have been other causes alienating Indian opinion from the Administration of India and by consequence from the whole fabric of the British Commonwealth. It will be our task to elucidate these in the next Chapter.

The Indian view.

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CHAPTER II.

The Causes of Public Uneasiness.

At the beginning of the year 1920, the educated classes of India were fundamentally divided in their attitude towards the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.*

The Amritsar Congress.

As was mentioned in last year's Report, the Amritsar meeting of the Indian National Congress, held in December 1919, afforded a clear illustration of the attitude of that Extreme section of the Nationalist party, which was in control of the Congress organization. Despite the appeal for co-operation between all classes of his subjects which was the burden of the gracious proclamation signifying His Majesty's assent to the Reform Act, the speeches delivered at Amritsar displayed a bitterness which was unprecedented. Many persons who had benefited by the Royal amnesty showed themselves prominent in denouncing the motives and policy of the administration. A motion for the recall of Lord Chelmsford was carried, as was also the condemnation of the new Reforms Scheme as "disappointing and unsatisfactory." None the less, the Congress declined to boycott the Reforms altogether, as was suggested by some politicians of the Left.

In striking contrast with the attitude of the Extreme section of the Nationalist party was that assumed by the Moderate or National Liberal Party. Great efforts had been made to induce this party to sink the fundamental differences of outlook and mentality separating it from the Left, in order that the Indian National Congress might once more stand as the representative of united Indian opinion. But the Moderates preferred to hold their own conference. At the end of the year 1919, the leaders of the party had met in Calcutta.

The Liberal Conference.

While condemning the methods employed by the Punjab authorities in the suppression of the 1919 Disorders, and

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* The sources for this and the following chapter are first, the current Indian press, vernacular and English: secondly, official documents: thirdly, the various political studies of Mr. Alfred Nundy, which the author has kindly placed at my disposal.

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demanding the generous treatment of Turkey in the approaching settlement, they revealed an earnest desire to make the Reforms a success, and a determination, full of promise for the future, to formulate a definite programme and a considered policy. They set in the forefront of their platform the radical amendment of the Press Act and the repeal of the Rowlatt Act. But unlike the Nationalists, whose activities at this period were not of a constructive character, the Moderate Party or the National Liberal Federation, as it now styled itself, drew up a practical working scheme for the year 1920, outlining its intended activities upon such matters as land revenue settlement and irrigation; the development of railways, education, and industry; the amelioration of the condition of backward classes; the reform of village and district administration; and the organisation of medical relief and sanitation.

Parties in India.

With the passing of the Government of India Act immediately prior to the commencement of the period under review, and the emergence of India into the stage preliminary to responsible Government, the attitude of these two great parties towards the new Reforms became a matter of the highest practical importance. It is interesting to notice that prior to the development of that intensive agitation which brought the Left Wing Extremists to the forefront of Indian politics in the early summer of 1920, the responsible leaders of the Nationalist Party inclined to throw themselves heart and soul into preparations for the forthcoming elections, while reserving their judgment as to the policy which should be pursued when, as they hoped they would find themselves in power. For in the early months of the year 1920, the rank and file of the Party were still in doubt as to whether they should bend their energies towards securing a preponderance of seats in the new Legislatures, or should boycott the elections as part of the Reform Scheme which was to them so unsatisfactory. There was in addition a further division of opinion as to what should be the policy of the party, assuming that they were able to obtain a majority in the elections. One well marked body of opinion believed that the consummation of their desires could be best obtained by working the Reform Scheme for what it was worth, while maintaining a ceaseless agitation for greater concessions. The other body of opinion, more radical by nature, contemplated the employment of this hypothetical majority for the purpose of demonstrating the futility of the Dyarchic scheme. A process of perpetual obstruction, so they argued, would within a short period reduce to chaos the delicate machinery projected by the Government of India Act and

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would compel the people of Great Britain to confer full responsible government upon India at a single stroke.

The attitude of the Moderate Party has already been indicated by the proceedings of the Calcutta Conference, which from the point of view of the historian of India will probably rank as a turning point in the growth of the National Liberal Federation. While yielding nothing to the Nationalists in their detestation of what they felt to be the racial humiliation inflicted upon Indians in the course of the Martial Law administration subsequent to the Punjab disturbances, the National Liberals throughout tended to take their stand upon a firm platform of statesmanship and expediency. Their attitude towards the Reforms had never been seriously in question since the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme. It was in brief to accept the scheme, to employ it as a means of demonstrating the fitness of India for a greater measure of responsibility, and thereby to hasten the attainment of the goal of self-government. In contrast, at least with the Left Wing of the Nationalists, the National Liberal Federation displayed from the beginning of the year a sense of responsibility, of statesmanship, and of authority which, in a normal period could not have failed to carry along with them the bulk of educated Indian opinion. But as will be plain from a subsequent survey of the year 1920, the events of this period have conspired to the disadvantage of the Moderates.

The Liberal party.

In India the domestic history of the year 1920 is the history of agitation, of agitation stimulated and fomented by a series of events which affected in equal degree both Liberals and Nationalists. As we shall have occasion to notice, the gradually growing estrangement between them is testimony to the far-sightedness of the National Liberal Federation. Throughout the period under review the Liberals have been torn between two conflicting tendencies. On the one hand, ties of sentiment have prompted them to range themselves with the Extreme Nationalists in utterly uncompromising demands for the vindication of what they regarded as the grievous wrongs of India; on the other hand their very clear perception of the ultimate interests of the country has inclined them to sink their personal and even their national prejudices in subordination to what they knew constituted the statesmanlike course of action. They have refused to be swept away by the rushing torrent of popular clamour; and while steadily demanding redress of grievances from the administration, have never wavered in their attitude towards

Difficulties of the Liberals.

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Reforms. But since their fundamental position as a party rests upon appeals to reason rather than to sentiment, there has been a tendency during the period under review, for their voice to fall in vain upon ears deafened by unthinking passion.

Racial feeling.

During the year 1920, there has been witnessed in India the growth of racial animosity in very serious degree. This lamentable result must be ascribed in the main to two causes, the first being the aftermath of the Punjab disturbances; the second, the post-war settlement with Turkey. It will be necessary to deal with both these topics in detail, in order to convey some impression, however inadequate, of the conflicting currents which determined the opinion of educated India during the period under review. In last year's Report mention was made of the general character of the disturbances which had broken out in the Punjab in the year 1919. It was at Delhi, the capital of India and a city which from its historical and commercial importance is a factor of considerable weight in the attitude of Hindustan, that the disturbances had begun on March 30th, 1919. As was related in "India in 1919," they were of such a character as to require the use of the military to restore order. On the April 10th further rioting took place at Amritsar and Lahore in the Punjab, and at Ahmedabed in the Presidency of Bombay; while distinct unrest manifested itself in a minor degree at places as far distant as Calcutta and Bombay. After the 10th April 1919 the situation throughout the Punjab had rapidly deteriorated and Martial Law had been proclaimed on April 15th in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, and shortly afterwards in three other districts. Two weeks later, the thunder clouds which had for some time been massing on the North-West Frontier suddenly burst, and the mobilization of troops for the third Afghan War began on the 4th May. This had seriously affected the general situation in the Punjab, and it had not been found possible to withdraw Martial Law from all the districts concerned before the 12th June 1919, nor from Railway land till a later date.

The disturbances of 1919.

When the outbreaks occurred, the immediate necessity was to quell them and restore order, but at a very early stage the Viceroy decided that it was incumbent upon Government to hold an enquiry into the causes of the disturbances and the administration of Martial Law. As a result of communications between Lord Chelmsford and the Secre-

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tary of State, a Committee was appointed to investigate the troubles.

The Hunter Committee. The question of the composition of the Committee received most careful consideration, and as was related in last year's Report, Lord Hunter, lately Solicitor-General for Scotland, and his seven colleagues began their investigations at the end of October 1919. Pending the commencement of the Committee's enquiry, it was decided that preliminary investigation was inadvisable. It is a matter for profound regret that a general knowledge of the occurrences to be investigated was not available until the Committee had commenced its work. For this result the Government of India was not responsible. In the case of the majority of the officers whose conduct was afterwards impugned, the outbreak of open hostilities with Afghanistan in the spring of 1919 prevented the presentation of detailed reports. Nor, if the materials had been available, would it have been proper for Government to make public comment on transactions which it was the duty of the Committee to examine. The fact remains, none the less, that those revelations of individual official harshness and of improper conduct which eventuated from the examination of Lord Hunter's Committee, came with an added shock to public opinion both in India and in Great Britain because of the length of time which intervened between the occurrences criticised and the publication of the facts concerning them.

General Dyer's evidence. In particular, early in the course of the period under review, intense feeling was aroused by the public examination of Brigadier-General R. E. Dyer, who had been responsible for firing upon an assembly at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar, thereby causing the heaviest death-roll in the history of the suppression of the disturbances. The frank admission of this officer that he had employed measures so drastic with the object of causing moral effect, produced a passionate outcry in India which was re-echoed also in Great Britain. We shall have occasion in another place to record the verdict of the Hunter Committee, of the Government of India, and of His Majesty's Government upon the conduct of this officer. Here it is important to realise that his evidence was in the hands of the Indian public several months prior to the release of the Hunter Report. The charges promptly levelled against General Dyer in the Indian edited press provoked a revulsion of sentiment in his favour among sections of English opinion, both in India and Great Britain. With honourable exceptions on both sides, the controversy threatened to develop upon racial lines. This fact by itself accounts in no small degree for the growing estrangement between

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Indians and Englishmen which marks the early months of the year under review. There can indeed be no doubt that the excitement resulting from the open sessions of the Hunter Committee, was of itself no small factor in the difficulties of the months from January to April 1920.

A further factor, of importance almost equal to the Punjab enquiry, contributed to the perturbation of public opinion. Mention was made in last year's Report of the fact that the anxiety of Indian Muslims on behalf of Turkey had waxed and waned during the interval which elapsed between the declaration of the Armistice and the end of the year 1919. If it had been possible to announce the Turkish peace terms shortly after the termination of hostilities, it is probable that they would have been accepted, however stringent they might have been, as the decree of fate. But long delay had gradually induced among Indian Muslims a change from their early attitude of passive acquiescence to a later hope that Government's hand might be forced in the matter. In last year's Report it was related that during the latter half of 1919, feeling had risen steadily among the more advanced sections of the Muhammadan community and that Mr. Gandhi had taken what was, for a Hindu, the unprecedented step of identifying himself with a Muslim religious movement. This was the beginning of a campaign of agitation, manifested in the first instance by a refusal to celebrate the victory of the allies so long as the Turkish question remain unsettled. The organization then instituted to prevent the Muhammadan community from joining in the rejoicing, continued its activities during the whole of the year 1920. Despite all the efforts of Government to secure an accurate appreciation of the facts of the Turkish situation, the "Khilafat movement," as it was termed, from its avowed object of restoring the Sultan of Turkey, Khalif of Islam, to his pre-war status, gradually produced its effect upon the minds of the masses. In an agitation relating to religion a foreign administration can hardly be expected to interfere with good effect.

Muslim anxiety.

Mr. Gandhi's Action.

It was a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India had from the earliest possible moment continuously pressed the views and sentiments of Indian Muslims upon the notice of His Majesty's Government. The attitude of the administration was further illustrated in January 1920 when an influential deputation of Indian Muhammadans set out in elaborate detail to Lord Chelmsford the views of their community upon the necessity for the preservation of the Turkish Empire

Attitude of the Administration.

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and of the sovereignty of the Sultan as Khalif. They stated that the continued existence of the Khilafat as a temporal no less than spiritual institution was the very essence of their faith; and that they could never agree to any change in its character or to the dismemberment of its Empire. Lord Chelmsford replied in a most sympathetic manner, referring to the precautions which had been taken by his Government and by the Secretary of State for India to place the sentiments of Indian Muslims before the Peace Conference. He pointed out that the case for the favourable treatment of Turkey had been pressed with an earnestness of purpose and a force of argument which could not be surpassed; and that ever since the Armistice he had been in private communication with the Secretary of State; urging upon His Majesty's Government the view that Muslim feeling in India had to be taken into most serious account before coming to a final decision. He emphasised the fact that the question did not lie in the hands of Great Britain alone. but promised that his efforts towards a settlement favourable to Muslim opinion would not be relaxed, and that he would do all he could to assist the Muslim deputation which was about to leave India for the purpose of placing its views on the Khilafat question before the British Cabinet.

Growth of the Khilafat Movement.

As to the ultimate origin of the intensive agitation directed in India towards the modification of the Turkish peace terms, it is not easy to speak with certainty. In its inception, it appears to have originated among a certain section of advanced Muhammadan opinion whose views can broadly be described as Pan-Islamic and pro-Turkish. Little by little this section had succeeded in arousing the bulk of the Muhammadan community of India, uneducated as well as educated, to a lively if nebulous apprehension that the Christian powers of the world were about to perpetrate oppression of some kind upon the Khalif. This apprehension was considerably strengthened by the militant tone of certain sections of the English, French and American Press regarding the desirability of settling the Near Eastern question once and for all in the most drastic manner. The fact that Indian Muslims felt they had contributed greatly to the defeat of the Turks, naturally strengthened their desire that the terms of peace should accord with their own predilections. Here again, the long delay which elapsed between the Armistice and the announcement of the draft peace terms with Turkey was responsible for infinite harm. In the course of this period, religious intolerance, both Christian and Muslim, found full expression in the

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press of the countries concerned. The result of a demand by influential sections of English and American opinion, that the Turks should be expelled from Constantinople and reduced to the status of a fourth rate Power, was to strengthen considerably the hold which the Left Wing Party of Muslims in India were obtaining upon the bulk of their co-religionists. Fresh massacres in Armenia during the early months of the year 1920 called forth a passionate protest from Christian organisations both in Europe and in the United States. Anti-Turkish feeling in the West naturally produced its reaction in India, and ended in accomplishing what the small pan-Islamic section of Indian Muhammadans had long attempted with but moderate success to achieve, namely, the consolidation of the whole of Indian Muslim opinion, Shiah as well as Sunni, into a united front for the support of Turkey's cause.

Complications.

Such were the main currents of opinion in India at the beginning of the year 1920. It will be realised that in an atmosphere of this kind it was extremely difficult for Moderate propaganda to make headway, if only because the time favoured a vehemence of agitation and an accentuation of race-feeling from which the National Liberal Party has always been by nature averse. It must further be reckoned among the immediate difficulties of this Party that because they were Moderates, they did not thereby cease to be Indians. In essence they were as deeply moved as the Extreme Nationalists by the revelations of official harshness in the Punjab, while the misfortunes of Turkey meant to them no less and no more. Hence it was difficult for them either to oppose effectively the agitation which the Nationalists were commencing to organise, or to avoid being overshadowed by that vehemence of sentiment and expression in which the Left Wing party excelled.

The Council Delhi Session.

These currents of opinion were beginning to manifest themselves when the Imperial Legislative Council met in Delhi at the end of January 1920. Lord Chelmsford's opening speech was as usual detailed and lengthy. He surveyed the course of constitutional progress, which had now culminated in the triumphant passage of the Reform Bill through Parliament. He outlined the heavy work which awaited the Government of India in translating the Reforms from precept into practice, announcing his intention, during the process, of taking public opinion freely into his confidence. It may here be mentioned in passing that many different matters were urgently claiming attention as a result of the Report of the Joint Committee of both Houses. These in-

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cluded the increase of rural as compared with urban representation on the new Councils; provision for the representation of the urban wage-earning classes; elimination of the disparity between the electorates of different Provinces; additional representation of the depressed classes; reservation of a proportion of seats for the non-Brahmins of Madras and the Mahrattas of Bombay; regulation of the franchise for women where it might be adopted by local Legislatures; revision of landholders' representation; revision of European representation in Bengal; enactment of a Corrupt Practices Act prior to the first elections; establishment of rules for elections to the Council of State and to the Legislative Assembly of India; and settlement of the contribution of the Provinces to the "Imperial" Exchequer. It was to a task of this magnitude that Lord Chelmsford invited the co-operation of the Council. He then proceeded to a general survey of the work of his administration, mentioning particularly those matters in which public opinion was likely to be ill-informed. He dealt with the progress made in following out the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, and in laying upon firm foundations the future structure of Indian industries. He mentioned the efforts which were being made to secure for Indians abroad the rights which they claimed in South and East Africa; he also briefly outlined the situation in the Middle East with special reference to the advance of the Bolshevik forces and their accompanying anarchic disintegration. In conclusion he expressed his firm belief that Indians' troubles were but transitory. "The present," he said "is indeed a critical time in the world's history, when every nation which hopes to maintain or advance its position in the community of civilised States must stand firm by its tradition and set up a bulwark of sanity and moderation against the forces of disorder and destruction. In India I see no grounds for pessimism. There may be clouds in our sky but the shadows they cast are relieved by much that is bright."

The Viceroy's Speech.

Review of the situation.

The Council, which was a predominantly Moderate body, showed a statesmanlike appreciation of the feeling which animated the Government. Very significant was the moving of a Resolution by the Honourable Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha recommending the Governor General in Council to transmit to His Majesty the King-Emperor the representation; "That this Council begs leave to tender to His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor its dutiful homage and loyal devotion and to

Temper of the Council.

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express its sense of profound gratefulness for the royal proclamation issued by His Majesty on the memorable occasion of his having given his Royal assent to the Government of India Bill, declaring as the proclamation does the noble and lofty principles of Government which are to guide in future the policy of His Majesty's officers to enable the Indian Nation to attain full responsible Government and full political freedom as an equal member of the British Commonwealth." In the course of an eloquent speech, the mover said: "My Lord, I have been all my life a staunch—a very staunch—optimist, although I have for many years seen the country pass through stages of political repression which have placed, from time to time, a very great strain on our loyalty to our King-Emperor's Indian Government. But in spite of all that, I have always believed that, notwithstanding the repressive measures and the misguided policy resorted to by the Indian Government, our King-Emperor's rule is the one great instrument of our political salvation, the one mighty lever by means of which the people of India will be raised to a higher destiny and to their right place in the scale of nations. It seems to me, My Lord, that what is wanted now is that all sections of the people, and all His Majesty's subjects, should really co-operate in the right spirit. The situation demands great forbearance on both sides and I sincerely wish that both will rise to the occasion."

Attitude of Indian leaders.

This speech was warmly welcomed and was reinforced by the observations of Mr., now Sir, Surendra Nath Banerjea, one of the founders of modern political thought in India: "My Lord, the proclamation announces the birth of a new era. It says 'A new era is opening. Let it begin with a common determination allowing my people and my officers to work together for a common purpose.' In so far as the educated Indians are concerned, we shall loyally carry out that mandate, and I am sure that the officers of Government and representatives of the European community will do the same. For good or for evil, for good as I believe, Indians and Europeans have got to live together in this country, as fellow-citizens of a common Empire. Let us live together in peace and amity, in the cultivation of those friendly relations which alone can make for our mutual advantage and our mutual prosperity. We, the educated Indians, are prepared to extend the hand of fellowship and friendship to the servants of the Government, to the representatives of the European Community. I ask them to grasp it with alacrity. We are prepared to make the first advance. Are

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they prepared to reciprocate the sentiment and do likewise?" This invitation, which was amply supported by other prominent representatives of the Moderate Party, did not go long unanswered. The representatives of the European commercial community while frankly admitting that in the early stages of the Reform Scheme they had some doubts as to its desirability, now announced their firm intention of working it in a spirit of loyal co-operation, and responding whole-heartedly and unreservedly to the appeal which had been made by educated India. The officials were not backward, and the speech of Sir William Marris constituted a remarkable elucidation of the spirit in which Government were approaching the new Reforms. "After so much that has been said by non-official Members to explain their attitude towards the Reforms, I think the Council will perhaps expect me to say a word as to the spirit in which the officials approach the same task. So far as the Government of India is concerned, Your Excellency has already made that clear. On the earliest possible occasion a message was sent that the Government of India were heartily glad that a decision had been reached and were absolutely ready to carry out loyally the decision of Parliament."

Attitude of English representatives.

The remainder of the session was occupied with substantial legislative business, which, though important, was of little bearing upon the immediate political controversies of the moment and is therefore explained in detail in a subsequent chapter. Perhaps the most noteworthy incident was the appointment of a committee to advise the Government of India as to the draft rules which were to be formulated under the new Constitution for submission to the Joint Select Committee of both Houses. Upon this body, as was somewhat natural, the Indian representatives belonged to the Moderate and not to the Extremist party. This fact, somewhat illogically, was made a cause of grievance by the very persons who had taken the first opportunity of announcing their opinion that the Reforms were disappointing and unsatisfactory—many of whom indeed were now engaged in devising schemes for wrecking the whole project.

Business of the Session.

The next few months witnessed an intensive propaganda-campaign conducted up and down the country by the representatives of the two great Indian Parties. As to the attitude of the Moderates towards the Reforms, there was no possible doubt. They had made up their minds to work them in such a manner as to secure their extension at the earliest

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possible date. With the Nationalists the case was rather different. That uncertainty of programme which has already been noticed made itself manifest in widely different pronouncements by individual leaders as to the attitude which they considered their Party should adopt. Broadly speaking, the more influential leaders such as Mr. Tilak and Mr. C. R. Das began by saying that they would refuse to co-operate in the Reforms, which they regarded as so unsatisfactory ; but a gradual change came over the opinions of these gentlemen as well as of those for whom they spoke, as they became convinced of the wisdom of shaping their efforts towards gaining control of the new councils. Had it not been for the influence of the Punjab disturbances and the Khilafat question, there can be little doubt that the year under review would have witnessed a stand-up fight between the Liberals and the Nationalists for control of the electoral machinery which was about to be established. But the Khilafat question in particular came more and more to the fore during the months of February and March 1920. Anticipations as to the drastic character of the peace terms made their appearance from time to time in the press, and the excitement of Indian Muslims was sustained at white heat by the continual series of rumours cabled to India. The deputation which was to present the case of the Indian Muslims to the political arbiters of Europe duly sailed from India, and accounts of the activities of its members still further added to the excitement of their co-religionists. Great disappointment was however caused by the published accounts of the interview between the members of the delegation and Mr. Lloyd George on the 17th March. The insistence of the Prime Minister upon the fact that Turkey could not be treated on principles different from those applied to Christian countries ; and his firm assertion of the doctrine that while Turkey was to be allowed to exercise temporal sway over Turkish lands, she was not to be permitted to retain those lands which were not Turkish, were generally regarded as striking at the very root of the whole Khilafat sentiment of India. Excitement rose high. Already in the beginning of March, Government had found it necessary to issue a Resolution pointing out the impossibility of Government servants joining in the celebration of the 19th March as a day of fast and mourning on behalf of Turkey. The necessity for this had arisen from the fact that Mr. Shaukat Ali, one of the Muslim leaders released from war-internment under the Royal amnesty, had issued a manifesto

Public opinion and the Reforms.

Khilafat deputation.

Growing Excitement.

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announcing that among the Resolutions to be placed before the meetings fixed for the 19th March was one containing the threat that if the peace terms did not conform with certain requirements, Muslims would be forced to sever their loyal connection with the British throne. This doctrine of contingent disloyalty was naturally repudiated in most emphatic terms by the Government of India. Unfortunately it was impossible for that Government to assuage in any degree the rising tide of Muslim excitement.

Mr. Gandhi.

In the same month of March, the remarkable figure of Mr. Gandhi once more came prominently to the fore. He was very largely responsible for the organisation of the National mourning day on the 19th of that month, which had been opposed by the leaders of Liberal opinion, and he plainly announced that in case the Khilafat sentiments of his Muslim fellow-subjects were not met by the terms of peace with Turkey, he would himself lead a non-co-operation movement directed towards making the position of Government impossible. In a manifesto dated the 10th March he wrote as follows :—

His views on Non-Co-operation.

" Now a word as to what may be done if the demands are not granted. The barbarous method is warfare, open or secret. This must be ruled out if only because it is impracticable. If I could but persuade every one that it is always bad, we should gain all lawful ends much quicker. The power that an individual or a nation forswearing violence generates is a power that is irresistible. But my argument today against violence is based upon pure expediency, *i.e.*, its utter futility. Non-co-operation is therefore the only remedy left open to us. It is the cleanest remedy as it is the most effective, when it is absolutely free from all violence. It becomes a duty when co-operation means degradation or humiliation or an injury to one's cherished religious sentiment. England cannot accept a meek submission by us to an unjust usurpation of rights which to Mussalmans means a matter of life and death. We may therefore begin at the top as also the bottom. Those who are holding offices of honour or emolument ought to give them up. Those who belong to the menial services under Government should do likewise. Non-co-operation does not apply to service under private individuals. I cannot approve of the threat of ostracism against those who do not adopt the remedy of non-co-operation. It is only a voluntary withdrawal which is effective. For voluntary withdrawal alone is a test of popular feeling and dissatisfaction. Advice to the soldiers to refuse

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to serve is premature. It is the last, not the first step. We should be entitled to take that step when the Viceroy, the Secretary of State and the Premier leave us. Moreover every step withdrawing co-operation has to be taken with the greatest deliberation. We must proceed slowly so as to ensure retention of self-control under the fiercest heat."

Mr. Gandhi's influence.

It is impossible to understand the significance of this declaration of Mr. Gandhi without an attempt, however imperfect, to elucidate his personality and position. It has often been remarked that every Indian, no matter how Westernised, will ever retain in his heart of hearts a reverence for asceticism. Even educated Indian gentlemen who play a prominent part in public life cherish before them the ideal of worldly renunciation and retirement to the practice of individual austerities. Furthermore, the insistence of Mr. Gandhi upon the supremacy of soul force in opposition to material might; his advocacy of national fasting as a means of influencing Government; his conviction of the irresistible power of passive resistance, have all three their logical basis in the ancient Hindu doctrine of *Dharna*, that is, the application of moral pressure to another through physical austerities deliberately endured by oneself. Hence it is that to Indians of all classes Mr. Gandhi, of lowly birth though he be, who stands forth, not only as the perfect ascetic but also as the perfect exponent of Hindu tradition, makes an appeal of well-nigh irresistible force. Even those who are most profoundly convinced that his political opinions are unsound, unpractical and even disastrous, can rarely be found openly to criticise, far less to oppose, him. During the whole of the year 1920, the tendency of the time has been to place a premium upon Mr. Gandhi's opinions. India is now suffering from reaction against the more materialistic manifestations of Western civilisation. In addition to this, the events of the Punjab disturbances

His position.

of 1919, which only became fully known during the period under review, gave rise amongst educated Indians to feelings of intense and bitter humiliation. Against the all-dominant tide of Western materialism, Western might and Western achievement, Mr. Gandhi, with his explicit scorn for that which we call modern civilisation, stands before the injured national pride of many of his countrymen like a rock of salvation. He embodies an other-worldliness essentially Indian, a spirit the West does not possess, a plane of detachment to which it cannot hope to aspire. Hence it is that his behests have the influence of semi-divine commands; and even those whose intellects are too keen to be dominated by his sway

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can rarely be found to resist the appeal which he makes to their innermost heart.

In striking contrast with Mr. Gandhi must be placed the other great figure still occupying the stage of Indian politics during the period under review, the late Mr. Tilak. Mr. Tilak, worthy representative of a class which had builded empires and overthrown dynasties, belonged to the hereditary intellectual aristocracy of Maharashtra. He stood for Brahmin supremacy over India and for Brahmin control of India's destinies. A ruthless antagonist, a bold and subtle fighter, throughout his lifetime a perpetual thorn in the side of the administration, he retained to the last a unique hold upon the intellectual aristocracy of India. Where Mr. Gandhi appealed to the masses, to the simple, and to the uneducated, Mr. Tilak based his strength upon the traditional dominance of the Brahmin aristocracy. During the early part of the period under review a tacit struggle was waged between the ideals and the methods for which each of these leaders stood. As long as Mr. Tilak was alive, the success of Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the educated classes long remained in doubt. Mr. Tilak's influence was always sufficient to prevent the spread of the non-co-operation movement among the Deccani Brahmins who from the commencement have been the brain of militant Indian nationalism. But when the hand of death removed him in August 1920, the way was clear for the consolidation of Mr. Gandhi's influence over the whole country.

Mr. Tilak.

It has been necessary to interrupt the sequence of events of 1920 with this brief study of two remarkable personalities in order that the reader unacquainted with Indian conditions may be in a position to understand the course which matters have followed. As will be made increasingly clear with the procedure of this narrative, the influences which moulded public opinion throughout the summer and autumn of 1920 were such as to place a premium upon the particular appeal to Indian sentiment for which the two leaders in their respective spheres stood. Had these leaders been absent from India during the period under review, it is safe to say that the course of history would have been different.

Liberal leaders.

To these outstanding personalities, both of whom identified themselves practically if not explicitly with different aspects of the Nationalist programme, the Moderates had no figure of similar importance to oppose. Well tried leaders there were in plenty; men who like Mr., now Sir, Surendra Nath

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Banerjea, had witnessed the dawn of constitutional aspirations in India; men like Mr. Srinivasa Shastri and Mr. Chintamani, who had been responsible for much of the spade-work which has made possible the constitutional position that India has now attained. But as must always be the case, these men who stood firmly upon the solid ground of statesmanship and moderation lacked the glamour with which popular sentiment invested those who turned their energies rather to criticism of the bureaucracy than to constructive work for India. Even a personality such as Sir Rash Bihari Ghose, whose ultimate adherence, after a period of hesitation, to the Liberal cause, would normally have caused a great sensation, was insufficient to turn the tide of opinion in their favour. Throughout the whole period under review, the Moderates have suffered from one severe handicap. The whole tendency of events both in India and elsewhere has been to exaggerate the gulf between Government and the people. And considering that co-operation with Government for the good of India has always been a main plank in the platform of the Liberals, it has necessarily happened that during 1920 they have, in the opinion of their Nationalist rivals, been tarred in no small degree with the brush of Government unpopularity.

Their difficulties.

The difficulty of the task to which the Moderates were applying themselves became at once apparent with the publication, on March 25th, of the non-official report upon the Punjab Disorders. Mention was made in "India in 1919" of the appointment by the Indian National Congress of a body of non-official enquirers to collect evidence relating to the outbreak of the Punjab disturbances and the methods employed for their suppression. By an unfortunate series of events, Lord Hunter's Committee had been unable to examine the evidence produced by the sub-committee of the Indian National Congress. It was therefore determined by the sub-committee that the evidence collected and the conclusions framed should be published as an independent document. In this document, the administration of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab was blamed for producing an atmosphere such as to make conflict between the people and the Government almost inevitable. The late Lieutenant-Governor was accused of studied contempt and distrust of the educated classes, of obtaining recruits and monetary contributions for the war by high-handed methods; and of suppressing public opinion by every means in his power. The British were further blamed for a series of actions which, so the Congress sub-committee alleged,

Report of Congress Sub-Committee.

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was responsible for precipitating the whole trouble. The committee condemned the introduction of Martial Law as unnecessary; and referred in strong terms to the action taken under that law by particular officers. General Dyer's firing at Jallianwala Bagh was termed "a calculated piece of inhumanity unparalleled for its ferocity in the history of modern British administration." Individual ordinances such as the notorious Crawling Order were stigmatised as unworthy of a civilised government. The Report concluded by a demand for the recall of the Viceroy, and the dismissal of the various officials whose conduct was impugned.

The publication of this document, however much it may have been based upon *ex parte* statements by people intimately connected with that agitation against the Rowlatt Act, from which, so the Hunter Committee subsequently decided, the whole trouble can be traced, produced a considerable impression upon the public mind of India.

Reception of their Report.

There was small disposition indeed on the part of any large section of the community to regard the Report as conclusive; but it whetted the eagerness of educated India for the official Report of Lord Hunter's Committee, and at the same time raised to a great height their standard of expectation as to what that Report ought to contain in the way of censure upon the Punjab Government. Under the ægis of the leaders of the Nationalist party, April 6th to the 13th was observed as "national week" with the object of commemorating the sufferings of those who had tasted the bitterness of Martial Law in the Punjab during the corresponding period of 1919. The situation was rendered no easier by the publication of more or less accurate anticipations of the findings of the Hunter Committee, whose Report was at this time under the consideration of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The accusation that the Report, when published, would prove a mere 'whitewashing' of the bureaucracy, freely brought by certain of the less responsible Left Wing journals, helped to increase the tension of the movement.

Meanwhile the Khilafat agitation continued with renewed force;

The Turkish peace terms.

and the publication of the draft terms of peace with Turkey in the month of May served merely to stimulate it. It should be observed that the coincidence of the Khilafat agitation with the excitement over the Punjab disturbances was an extremely serious matter for the Indian Government. Taken by itself, the Khilafat agitation, although a cause of considerable dis-

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quiet to those responsible for the peace and order of India, was not necessarily anti-Government in tone. After the publication of the peace terms, indeed several Liberal papers frankly acknowledged the service which the Indian Administration had performed by its steady sympathy with Muslim sentiment. But the popular protests over the Punjab disturbances, at least subsequent to the publication of the Congress sub-committee's Report, were definitely directed against the existing Government in India. Since those responsible both for the Punjab protest and for the Khilafat movements were broadly speaking the same persons, there was a natural tendency, so soon as the Turkish peace terms were known, for the two agitations to coalesce, with the result that during the summer and autumn of 1920 the great storm of popular excitement aroused by the two questions, so closely at the heart of India, became uncompromisingly hostile to the British administration of the country.

Mr. Gandhi's action.

Soon after the announcement of the Turkish peace terms Mr. Gandhi declared his intention of leading a non-co-operation campaign directed to their modification. He associated himself very closely with the two Muhammadan leaders, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, who, since their release from internment under the Royal clemency, had been conducting an intensive agitation throughout India on behalf of Turkey. With this movement, Mr. Tilak did not allow himself to be fully identified, but such was the impetus with which it proceeded that before long he found himself, despite his natural distrust of Mr. Gandhi's doctrine, personality and antecedents, compelled to joint it. For some time, the project of non-co-operation, which was to begin by the resignation of titles, and the refusal of lawyers and litigants to attend courts, and was to continue through stages, which included the withdrawal of boys from schools, to an eventual refusal to co-operate with Government in any branch of public activity, was not received with any great enthusiasm. Many of the cooler headed members even of the Left Wing Nationalist Party, shared Mr. Tilak's doubts and suspicions. The Moderates from the very first threw all their weight against it; and there can be no doubt that among the solid middle classes of the country, particularly in Bengal, the Moderate opposition was responsible for the virtual failure of the movement.

Moderate opposition.

At first, it was confined almost exclusively to zealous Muhammadans, the few Hindus who announced their readiness to enlist themselves under Mr. Gandhi's banner being moved less by their conviction of the right-

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ness of the cause they were supporting than by their inherent reverence for Mr. Gandhi's personality. There can be little question that, had it been possible to satisfy public opinion in regard to the Punjab occurrences, the non-co-operation movement would have failed throughout the country at large. What made that movement so formidable, despite its almost fantastically impracticable character, was the gradual attraction, around this nucleus, of a floating mass of Indian sentiment, both Muhammadan and Hindu, which had been aroused on account of the Punjab affair.

Other influences.

It would be a mistake at this juncture to under-estimate the influence exerted upon Indian politics by the course of events in the world outside. Throughout the year under review the troubles in Ireland and in Egypt have attracted an unprecedented share of attention in the Indian Press. The policy pursued by His Majesty's Government in the former country has from time to time been stigmatised in India as a manifestation of the spirit of militarism. Further, the course of events in Egypt, culminating in the despatch of the Milner Mission, was held up as a practical example of the power of that very non-co-operation which was now to be tried as a solution of India's difficulties. Not less important than this in its effect upon Indian opinion, must be counted the predominant position occupied by Great Britain in the Middle East. Her acceptance of the Mesopotamian mandate, and the announcement of her draft agreement with the Persian Government, were bitterly resented by those persons who were opposed to the continued inclusion of India in the British Empire. This Ultra-Extremist party was thus torn between hope and despair; despair, at what seemed the overwhelming material might of Great Britain, and hope that the difficulties which seemed to them to threaten British rule over various portions of the Empire might in some mysterious manner redound to the advantage of India. It will be realised that under these conditions, the particular appeal to asceticism, to the superiority of soul force over material might, for which Mr. Gandhi stood, exercised a dynamic attraction upon the younger and more enthusiastic minds in India. This attraction was reinforced by the impressions, exaggerated though they were, which had by this time been formed regarding the sufferings of the Punjab population under Martial Law. The publication on May 28th, 1920, of the Report of Lord Hunter's Committee, together with the despatches concerning it which had passed between the Government of India and the Secretary

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of State, failed to assuage the bitter feelings which had been aroused before its issue. Into the details of this Report it is impossible to enter, its essential points will be gathered with sufficient clearness from the Despatches accompanying it which are printed in an appendix to this volume. It will suffice to say that the Committee was unfortunately divided upon racial lines, and its conclusions were presented in the form of a Majority and a Minority Report. Most of the findings of fact were unanimous, and despite difference of opinion as to the conclusions to be deduced therefrom, there was considerable common ground. That common ground covered the whole of the events in Delhi and in the Bombay Presidency as well as much of the narrative of events and causes of disturbances in the Punjab. Certain measures which had been adopted in the suppression of the disturbances were condemned in both Reports, but with varying degrees of severity. This was true in particular of the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The most important point on which there was an essential difference of opinion related to the introduction of Martial Law in the Punjab. The majority consisting of the President and the English members, believed that a state of rebellion existed, necessitating or justifying the adoption of Martial Law. The Minority, consisting of the Indian Members, believed that the disorders did not amount to rebellion, and that the disturbances might have been suppressed without abrogating the control of the civil authorities. Neither the Majority nor the Minority Reports were in any doubt as to the essential seriousness of the outbreaks. As to the causes of the outbreaks, there was also substantial agreement. The Committee found that the explanation for the widespread disturbances was to be sought in the causes of a general state of unrest and discontent among the people, particularly the inhabitants of the larger towns. The increased interest in political agitation caused in recent years by the Home Rule movement had received a great impetus from the new doctrine of self-determination. Meanwhile, however, the restrictions imposed under the Defence of India Act had become more essential, as the war drew to its climax. These restrictions had affected the daily life of ordinary citizens much more lightly in India than in Europe; nevertheless, particularly when imposed on political agitation, they had been, however necessary, the more galling to the educated classes, since the political future of India was under consideration. The Punjab had done more than its

Hunter Committee's Report.

Conclusions.

Causes of the outbreaks.

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share to respond to the call of the Empire for recruits for the army, and the strain had fallen mainly on the country districts, which the local Government considered it necessary to protect from any anti-Government agitation likely to hamper the work of recruitment. After the conclusion of the armistice in November 1918, hopes had run high amongst the educated classes that the services rendered by India in the war would receive immediate recognition. But these hopes were not at once fulfilled ; and disappointment was caused by a combination of circumstances, such as high prices, scarcity, foodstuff-restrictions, and the anxieties of the peace settlement, especially as it affected Turkey.

The Committee next considered the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. They found that this was largely, if not mainly responsible for creating the feeling against Government which had provoked such serious disorders, and they cited various false rumours as to the provisions of the Bill which had inflamed popular feeling. They next examined the history and progress of the Satyagraha movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi on the 24th February 1919. After a careful review of this movement in all its aspects, the Committee found that a familiarity and sympathy with disobedience to laws was engendered by it amongst large numbers of people ; and that the law-abiding instincts which stand between society and outbreaks of violence were undermined at a time when their full strength was required. From its first inception the Satyagraha movement was condemned by prominent leaders of moderate opinion in India as likely to promote disorder and breach of the peace, and the organiser himself recognised later that in embarking on a mass movement he had underrated the forces of evil. The Majority of the Committee expressly found that the recruiting campaign and the action taken in the Punjab to raise subscriptions to the war loans were not responsible for the unrest. They concluded by saying that there was no evidence that the outbreak in the Punjab was the result of a prearranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force, but that it was difficult and probably unsafe for Government not to assume that the outbreak was the result of a definite organisation. Apart from the existence of any deeply laid scheme to overthrow the British, a movement which had started in rioting and become a rebellion might have rapidly developed into a revolution.

Influence of Satyagraha.

In the introductory chapter of their Report the Minority stated that they were in substantial agreement with the findings of the Majority as regards the

The Minority Report.

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causes of the disturbances, with this reservation, that they did not concur in the opinion that the Punjab authorities were justified in assuming that the outbreak was the result of a definite organisation. ' They were unable to agree that the riots were in the nature of a rebellion; and they said that it was an unjustifiable exaggeration to suggest that the events might have developed into a revolution. They entirely agreed with the Majority in their estimate of Satyagraha movement and its offshoot, civil disobedience of laws. They developed their views on the real character of the disorders, including their causes, more fully in Chapter II of their Report. Here they referred to the general conditions existing in the beginning of 1919, the strain placed on India by her war efforts; the hardship of high-prices; the inconveniences and restraints imposed by war measures; the hope of alleviation excited by the armistice, and the subsequent disappointment caused by famine, epidemic, and a more stringent Income-tax Act; the belief that the proposals of the Government of India as regards the reform scheme were illiberal and intended to whittle it down; and the delay of the Turkish settlement. They argued that many of the foregoing causes affected the Punjab more than other provinces; and they instanced other special factors such as war weariness, foodstuff and traffic restrictions; Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches; restraints upon the press; the orders prohibiting the entry into the province of outside politicians—all tending to cause general irritation amongst the educated classes. While refraining from any discussion of the merits of the Rowlatt Act they held that its introduction and enactment in the face of Indian opinion was a fertile source of discontent which was fostered by misrepresentations in the Punjab. They asserted that Indian leaders were not responsible for these misrepresentations, and they condemned Government for failing to explain the Act to the masses until after the *hartal* of April 6th, although misrepresentations were current before that date. They accepted the estimate of the Satyagraha movement formed by the Majority, but they disclaimed the view that the disorders in the Punjab could be attributed to any active presentation of the Satyagraha doctrine by organizations working within the province. They found that there was no organization to bring about the disturbances and they quoted the evidence of various official witnesses in support of this conclusion. The anti-British and anti-Government outbursts which occurred, were, in their opinion, purely the result of sudden mob frenzy. The Minority concluded that although there was thus no evidence of organised conspiracy in the Punjab, the civil and military authorities persuaded

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themselves that open rebellion existed and took action accordingly.

Martial Law.

That part of the Committee's Report which excited the greatest interest was unquestionably the examination of the nature of the Martial Law Orders promulgated by military commanders in the Punjab. The Majority found that some of the orders passed were injudicious and served no useful purpose, criticising severely among other things the order passed by General Dyer known as the Crawling Order; the Roll-call imposed upon students at Lahore; and the order requiring Indians to *Salaam* Europeans. The Minority were more severe in their condemnation and expressed their belief that many of the orders were issued purely for punitive purposes and in such a way as to cause racial humiliation.

Views of the Government of India.

The opinion of the Government of India upon this Report was given in a long despatch which may be read in an appendix. Broadly speaking, the conclusions of the Majority commended themselves in most instances to Government, but the condemnation of certain individual acts on the part of officers responsible for the administration of Martial Law found more severe expression in the despatch than in the Majority Report. The Government accepted the view that the administration of Martial Law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances, by misuse of power, by irregularity and by injudicious and irresponsible acts. They further stated their belief that in his conduct at Jallianwala Bagh, General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man could have thought it to be necessary, and that he did not act with such humanity as the case permitted.

Views of His Majesty's Government.

The comments of His Majesty's Government upon the Report and the Despatch were published simultaneously. From the popular point of view the most important passages in this document were those which repudiated emphatically the doctrine of "moral effect" upon which General Dyer based his action. His Majesty's Government also expressed strong disapproval of certain specified instances of undue severity and of improper punishments and orders during the Martial Law régime, and instructed the Government of India to see that this disapproval was unmistakably marked by censure or other action upon those officers responsible for them. His Majesty's Government also expressed profound regret for the loss of life which the disturbances had occasioned, and instructed the Government of India

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to prepare a code of martial law regulations for future use, calculated to ensure, so far as human foresight could provide, a system adequate to repress disorder and to punish its promoters, while subverting no more than the fulfilment of these requirements necessitates, the ordinary rights and course of life of the people at large.

Public opinion dissatisfied.

From what has already been said, it is hardly necessary to enlarge upon the failure of the Hunter Committee's Report and of the Despatches appended thereto to satisfy a large and very vocal section of opinion in India. The only course which could have produced such a result would have been something startling and dramatic, something calculated to appeal to the imagination even though it had been accomplished at the expense of justice. Such a course of action no modern Government could possibly entertain. It was however unfortunate that there was no specific and detailed repudiation of the doctrine, which certain of the Punjab officials were popularly believed to hold, that the lives of Indians were valued more cheaply than the lives of English. In the eyes of Government, a doctrine so subversive of the basic principles of British administration might well seem to stand self-condemned, but unfortunately public confidence had been severely shaken, and a specific repudiation would have satisfied a desire which, lacking it, remained clamant throughout much of the period under review. And when to disappointment at the cold and detached language of the Report and of the Despatches, there was added the further disappointment of punishment regarded as inadequate for the misdeeds of the principal offenders, widespread indignation made itself manifest throughout a large section of the educated classes in India. Throughout the whole of this agitation, the Government of Indi apersisted in the course which it believed to be just. It is hardly necessary to point out that the cry for the condign punishment of officers responsible for the administration of Martial Law evoked a counter cry from influential sections of English opinion both in India and in Great Britain. Many persons belonging to the English commercial and official community in India felt very deeply upon the matter ; and the Anglo-Indian press was, with certain exceptions, at least as strong in its condemnation of Government for taking any action against the impugned officers as was the Nationalist press in its vehement assertion that the action taken was inadequate. Nor was the task of the Government of India rendered easier by the tone which pervaded certain of the speeches

Position of the Government of India.

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delivered in the House of Commons and the House of Lords when the Punjab disturbances came up for review. Some of these speeches made it clear that there existed in England influential sections of opinion which viewed as nothing less than culpable weakness, and as criminal concession to popular clamour, the determination of Government to punish those officers whom it considered as having failed to discharge their duty with a proper sense of responsibility. Difficult as it was for Indian sentiment to appreciate the fact at the time, the Government of India took its stand honestly on what it believed to be sure and firm foundations. It yielded to the clamour of the extremists on neither side: refusing on the one hand to inflict upon its officers such penalties as it believed to be excessive; and on the other declining to allow those persons whom it regarded as having been guilty of improper conduct to escape on plea of the emergency under which they had acted. The cases of the officers whose conduct had been impugned were examined with great care.

The Impugned officers.

By the end of the period under review, many of those whose conduct had been censured by the Hunter Committee had left India or Government service. The balance had undergone either penalties or severe censure from the Government; and as to the serious effects of such a censure upon the personal happiness, immediate position, and future prospects of an officer it is wholly unnecessary to enlarge. But as must generally be the case under a centralised administration, the distasteful work of punishment was performed without that parade of ostentation which alone might have satisfied Indian opinion.

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CHAPTER III.

The Prelude to the Reforms.

We have now seen how the intensive Khilafat agitation which had

Situation in summer 1920.

been an important factor in the history of India since the close of the year 1919, had become reinforced by a great upthrust of popular sentiment arising out of what was regarded as a bitter wrong inflicted upon India through official action upon the Report of the Hunter Committee. These two currents, now united into a formidable stream, flowed with ever increasing violence during the remainder of the period under review. In the beginning of August, Mr. Tilak died; and from henceforth Mr. Gandhi was the dominant figure upon the stage of Indian politics. It is with the progress of his non-co-operation campaign that we must now briefly concern ourselves; but before we proceed to examine it, it is necessary to notice certain tragic by-products of the Khilafat agitation.

The first, which has already been briefly noticed, was indeed so remarkable a manifestation of religious enthusiasm divorced from material considerations, that it might well have occurred in the 10th rather than in the 20th century. Comparatively early in the period under review, the question had been raised among the leaders of the Left Wing

The Muhajrin.

Extremist Party, as to whether, in the event of the Turkish peace terms proving such as Muslims could not accept, it would not become the duty of the Muhammadan population to leave territories under British domination, and to seek an asylum elsewhere. The Hijrat, or migration from one country to another for religious reasons has played a considerable part in Muslim history; but its revival in the present year of grace presented to the student of politics a phenomenon at once remarkable and tragic. In the early summer of 1920, suggestions were made by the local bodies representing the Central Khilafat organisation, that the migration of pious Mussalmans from India to Afghanistan was a matter which might well be considered. The movement first started in Sindh where the

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population is devout and ill-educated. From thence it spread to the North-West Frontier Province, where the preaching of local *Mullas*, operating upon the strong piety and simple credulity of the population in the rural areas of Peshawar District, produced an astounding effect. The success of the campaign initiated in the localities primarily affected seems to have taken the original organisers by surprise. The authorities, who had for some months past feared that the movement might assume proportions not anticipated by the originators, enlisted the support of local notables and threw all their influence into the task of restraining what threatened to be a wholesale migration of population from the North-West Frontier Province to Afghanistan.

The Kacha Garhi incident. Early in its inception, the movement attained an unfortunate advertisement through an unpleasant incident at Kacha Garhi. A brawl occurred between certain emigrants and the military police, in the course of which one of the emigrants was killed. Exaggerated rumours of this incident quickly circulated round about, and together with disturbing and equally false reports as to the occupation by Great Britain of Mecca and Medina, threw the inhabitants of several sub-divisions of the Peshawar District completely off their balance. Hundreds of families sold their land and property for a mere song; settled up all their worldly affairs, placed their wives and children on carts, surrendered the Government rifles entrusted to them for protection against marauders, and departed in the direction of the Khyber Pass. From the point of view of the authorities the movement was most embarrassing. It is calculated that in all some 18,000 people, animated in a high degree by religious enthusiasm moved in the direction of Afghanistan in the month of August. It would have been impossible to stop them without the employment of large numbers of troops; and any such attempt would have caused bloodshed on an unthinkable scale. So long as they were not interfered with, the emigrants were perfectly peaceful and orderly, on the best terms with the local officials, and displaying neither malice nor resentment against any man. As in the case of the Crusades, the individual suffering which was caused by this remarkable movement was very great. At first Afghanistan seemed to have looked upon it with something like favour. Before long, however, the immense scale upon which the movement was pursued rendered it necessary for the Afghan authorities, whose country is poor and comparatively sterile, to forbid altogether the admission of pilgrims. As a result, the tide of emigrants slowly ebbed and fell back, sadly disillusioned, to its former home. The road from Peshawar to

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Kabul was strewn with graves of old men, women and children who had succumbed to the difficulties of the journey.

Tragic sequel.

The unhappy emigrants when they returned found themselves homeless and penniless, with their property in the hands of those to whom they had sold it for a tithe of its value in the first flush of their religious enthusiasm. Government did all it could to mitigate the hardships which resulted from this amazing enterprise, and was successful in arranging for the re-settlement of many of the emigrants upon the land which they had so rashly abandoned. The failure of the Hijrat movement represented a severe set-back to the Khilafat propaganda ; although it may be stated that as soon as its organisers realised the mistake they had made, they co-operated whole-heartedly with the authorities in the task of mitigating the suffering of the emigrants.

The second by-product of the Khilafat agitation was unfortunately of a character which has become only too familiar within the last fifteen years. The Deputy Commissioner of Kheri in the United Provinces, Mr. R. W. D. Willoughby, I.C.S., an officer who had gained the affectionate esteem of all classes of Indians, was assassinated on August 26th in his own house by a Muhammadan fanatic, who confessed subsequently that he had been incited to perpetrate the crime by what he had heard of the wrongs inflicted by the British upon the Khalifa.

Assassination of Mr. R. W. D. Willoughby.

This tragic occurrence exercised a sobering effect upon the Left Wing of Indian opinion, affording as it did an indication of what might be expected if the Khilafat agitation were conducted without a due sense of responsibility by those in charge of it. In many parts of India meetings were held at which representatives of every shade of political opinion testified their abhorrence of the crime. Public apprehension was widely aroused lest the Kheri tragedy should be but the precursor of many similar incidents. Fortunately, however, up to the moment of writing this anticipation has proved to be unfounded.

In August the Legislative Council met in Simla. The majority of the Indian members belonged to the party pledged to co-operate with the Government,

The Council Simla Session.

and as a result of the acceptance by the Indian National Congress of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme, certain members belonging to the Extremist wing resigned their seats. In the then excited state of public feeling, the proceedings of the Legislature might have seemed to possess an interest merely academic. Such

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a judgment would, however, have been superficial in the extreme: for the Council, and the party which it represented, were busy laying the foundation of a happier era of joint effort and joint achievement on the part both of Indians and of Englishmen—an era which seems destined to continue long after the very names of non-co-operation, of the Punjab disturbances, and of the Khilafat agitation shall have passed out of living memory.

The Viceroy's Speech.

The Session began as usual with a speech from the Viceroy in which he reviewed the achievements of the various departments of his administration. He alluded to the two matters upon which public opinion was mainly exercised with a brevity which caused disappointment. Regarding the Punjab he said "Since we last met, Lord Hunter's Committee has reported on the events of last year in the Punjab, Bombay and Delhi. My Government forwarded a Despatch to the Secretary of State recording their views on the findings of that Committee and His Majesty's Government have passed their judgment on the whole case. There are those, however, who are dissatisfied with the decision of the Government of India and of His Majesty's Government, and they have expressed their dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms. There is much that I could say with reference to the criticisms on this side and on that, but I am content to leave the issue to the verdict of history."

Regarding the Khilafat movement and the non-co-operation campaign, Lord Chelmsford remarked: "Hon'ble Members are fully aware of the line which my Government have taken in relation to the Turkish peace terms, and I need not further dilate upon it. So far as any Government could, we pressed upon the Peace Conference the views of Indian Muslims, but notwithstanding our efforts on their behalf, we are threatened with a campaign of non-co-operation, because, forsooth, the allied powers found themselves unable to accept the conditions advanced by Indian Muslims. Could anything be more futile or ill-advised? This policy of non-co-operation must inevitably lead, if persisted in, to the discomfort of the community at large, and indeed involves the risk of grave disorder. I am glad to think that everything points to this policy being repudiated by all thinking people, and it is because I and my colleagues have faith in India's common-sense that we have preferred to allow this movement to fail by reason of its intrinsic inanity. Can we, for instance, picture to ourselves the legal profession generally foregoing its practice in support of this policy? I am proud

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to belong to this great profession but I cannot envisage such a possibility, and from one example can we not learn the unpractical nature of this visionary scheme? There is a point at which no Government could refuse to take action to protect the interests of the community at large, and when that point is reached Government is bound to and will use all the resources at its disposal. That is a platitude, but even platitudes require sometimes to be stated. But as I have said above, I have every hope that this point will not be reached, but that the common sense of the people and the opposition of all moderate men will erect an insuperable bar to the further progress of this most foolish of all foolish schemes."

Progress of Non-Co-operation.

Unfortunately, the leaders of the non-co-operation campaign, secure in the consciousness that their movement possessed, in the then condition of public feeling, a unique attraction for large sections of the educated classes, were not to be deterred by official censure. The campaign was hardly checked in its course by a weighty manifesto issued by a number of moderate leaders from Simla. In vain was the impracticable character of the whole scheme demonstrated in the press and upon the platform by leader after leader of the National Liberal Party. Mr. Gandhi, with his remarkable influence over the masses, and the Ali Brothers with their appeal to the militant fervour of their co-religionists, moved up and down the country in pursuit of their avowed intention of bringing Government to the stool of repentance through a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation. In order to describe the nature of the remarkable campaign, which throughout avoided even the suggestion of conflict with the forces of law and order, we cannot do better than quote here from an address written by Mr. Gandhi himself for the purpose of restraining the over-zealous enthusiasm of the masses. Lamenting the tendency on the part of his followers to yield to the rule of the mob, he described incidentally the nature of the demonstrations which his presence everywhere excited.

Mr. Gandhi's views.

"Our popular demonstrations are unquestionably mob-demonstrations. During the memorable tour of the Khilafat Mission through the Punjab, Sind and Madras, I have had a surfeit of such demonstrations. I have been ashamed to witness at Railway stations, thoughtless though unwitting destruction of passengers' luggage by demonstrators who, in their adoration of their heroes, have ignored everything else and everybody else. They have made, much to the discomfort of their heroes, unmusical and harsh

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noises. They have trampled upon one another. They have elbowed out one another. All have shouted, all at the same time, in the holy name of order and peace. Ten volunteers have been heard to give the same order at the same time. Volunteers often become demonstrators instead of remaining peoples' policemen. It is a task often dangerous, always uncomfortable, for the heroes to be escorted through a broken chain of volunteers from the platform to the coach intended for them. Often it is a process which, although it should occupy no more than five minutes, has occupied one hour. The crowd instead of pressing back presses towards the heroes and who therefore require to be protected. The coach is taken possession of by anybody who dares, volunteers being the greatest sinners. The heroes and other occupants have to reason with the intruders that they may not mount the footboard in that summary fashion. The hood of the coach is roughly handled by the processionists. It is not often that I have seen hoods of motors left undamaged by crowds. On the route instead of crowds lining the streets, they follow the coach. The result is confusion worse confounded. Every moment there is danger of accident. That there is rarely any accident at such demonstrations is not due to the skill of the organisers, but the crowd is determined to put up with all jostlings and retain its perfect good humour. In spite of everyone jostling everyone else, no one has the slightest *wish* to inconvenience one's neighbour. To finish the picture, there is the meeting, an ever-growing cause of anxiety. You face nothing but disorder, din, pressing, yelling and shouting there. A good speaker arrests the attention of the audience and there is order such that you can hear a pin drop."

"All the same there is mobocracy. You are at the mercy of the mob. So long as there is sympathy between you and the mob, everything goes well. Immediately that cord is broken, there is horror. An Ahmedabad episode now and then gives you the mob psychology."

It is perhaps a typical illustration of Mr. Gandhi's view of life that the cure he advocated was the teaching of music to the people.

Opposition to Non-Co-operation.

It would be a mistake to imagine that the non-co-operation movement obtained success from the moment when it appeared upon the horizon of Indian politics. We have already noticed the opposition which it encountered from the representatives of intellectual aristocracy, which included upon the Nationalist side Mr. Tilak and upon the Liberal side, leaders who like Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, Dr. Sapru and Mr. Shastri, have brought India up to her present level of constitutional

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achievement. Even in Mr. Gandhi's immediate circle there were many who doubted the possibility of success along the lines which he suggested, but his personality ended by winning the day. This was made amply apparent in the proceedings of a special meeting of the Indian National Congress which was held in Calcutta early in September 1920 to consider Mr. Gandhi's programme. After a keen discussion the mass of the delegates who constituted Mr. Gandhi's following carried the day against the more cautious counsels of the intelligentsia. Non-co-operation was accepted in principle by a narrow but conclusive majority; and a sub-committee was appointed to prepare draft instructions as to the exact operation of the campaign. The Committee advised, first the surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignations from nominated seats in local bodies; secondly, refusal to attend Government levees, durbars, and other official and semi-official functions held by Government officials or in their honour; thirdly, the gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided, or controlled by Government and in place of such schools and colleges the establishment of national schools and colleges in the various provinces; fourthly, the gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private arbitration courts by their aid for the settlement of private disputes; fifthly, refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia; and sixthly, withdrawal by candidates of their candidature for election to the Reformed Councils, and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who might, despite the advice of Congress, offer himself for election. Mr. Gandhi and his immediate band of followers then moved up and down the country, this time enjoying the benefit of the organised Congress machinery for securing the success of their meetings. Beyond stirring up a good deal of popular excitement, the immediate effect of their activities has up to the moment of writing been confined to two spheres and two spheres only. They have failed to persuade more than a fractional proportion of the title holders to surrender their titles,* or of lawyers to resign their practice. But on the other hand they have been successful in causing educational dislocation to a considerable degree, and in effectually preventing any member of the Left

Its first Victory.

Practical results of Non-Co-operation.

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* Out of an approximate total of 5,000 title holders, only 21 had resigned their titles up to February 1921.

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Wing Nationalist Party from gaining a seat in the New Councils. Wherever Mr. Gandhi has made his appearance, there for the moment has the ordinary progress of educational work been seriously interrupted. His hold upon the student mentality is great, for they are a class to whom his idealism and frank appeal to the other-regarding emotions prove naturally attractive. In this connection it is significant to notice that where Mr. Gandhi was confronted with an institution like the Benares Hindu University, which definitely preaches to its students the ideal of Indian nationality and Hindu culture; and where, in addition, he encountered an antagonist, in the person of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was no whit less orthodox, determined, and confident than himself, he encountered a severe check. In the case of the great Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh he was, as might have been expected from the position of the Khilafat in the forefront of his platform, considerably more successful; although even here, when once the magic of his personality was removed, the students who in the first rush of enthusiasm had resigned from the College began by slow degrees to return. Where Mr. Gandhi was most successful was in institutions which either through their connection with the modern University system of India or through their association with the Government, give no scope for that traditional intimacy between master and pupil, teacher and taught, which India so well understands; and thus could offer to their students no leadership calculated to counteract Mr. Gandhi's immense magnetism. The susceptibility of students, in India as elsewhere, to generous emotion, and their ready acceptance of the domination of catchwords such as 'non-co-operation with a satanic Government' rendered them easy victims to this disastrous appeal.

Educational Non-Co-operation.

It need hardly be said that such an organised attack upon the educational structure of the country caused a great sensation. From the very first the good sense of a large number even of Mr. Gandhi's personal followers revolted from the enterprise; and had it not been that his destructive campaign was in all cases accompanied by a programme of educational reconstruction by means of "National" schools and colleges, this particular phase of the non-co-operation movement would have ended in early failure. But the demand for "National" as opposed to "imported" education struck a responsive chord in the breasts of many educated Indians; and it was only when the practical difficulties of Mr.

National education.

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Gandhi's programme obtruded themselves into notice, and when it was seen that the construction of "National" schools and colleges could in no way supply the hiatus which would be caused by the destruction of existing institutions, that the campaign began definitely to fail. Even so, Mr. Gandhi's personality worked miracles; and immediately after the close of the period under review, at a time, that is, when the campaign of educational non-co-operation seemed definitely to be turning against its author, there was a sudden, if short, outburst of students' strikes in Bengal, which throughout 1920 has been pre-eminently the stronghold of the moderates and the despair of the non-co-operators.

It is rather in connection with the boycott of the new Councils that Mr. Gandhi's campaign of non-co-operation seems destined to exercise a potent influence upon the history of the next few years, for it has prevented the inclusion in the new legislature of certain advanced thinkers who figure prominently in the public eye, and has left the Moderates a clear field. We have already seen that the Moderates had committed themselves from the first to an honest working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Their position at this moment was one of considerable difficulty. Upon the questions of the Punjab, and to a less extent of the Khilafat, many of them felt as deeply as did the Nationalists. On the other hand, the statesmanship of their leaders proved equal to the strain, and despite the storm of obloquy levelled upon them in the press and from the platform, they steadfastly refused either to join Mr. Gandhi in his non-co-operation campaign or to budge from their attitude *vis-à-vis* the reforms.

Seriousness of the situation.

The non-co-operation campaign continued to be waged with much vehemence of thought and expression. There seemed considerable danger lest the more impetuous supporters of this campaign would be led to indulge in speech and action which was calculated to produce that violence which they professed to shun. There was disquieting evidence that the non-co-operators were turning their attention from the educated classes to the masses—a development which up to the moment of writing still remains pregnant with possibilities of serious disorder. Accordingly, in the beginning of November, Government found it desirable to make plain beyond the possibility of doubt exactly what its policy was towards this movement. The resolution, which is sufficiently important to be quoted in detail ran as follows:—

"In view of recent events the Governor General in Council considers that it is necessary to make further declaration of the attitude and policy

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of the Government of India towards the non-co-operation movement, not only for the guidance of local Governments and Administrations, but also for the information of the people of India."

Policy of Government.

"At the opening of the autumn session of the Imperial Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy explained the policy which the Government of India have up to date followed in this matter. Although in their opinion the movement is unconstitutional, in that it has as its object the paralysis and subversion of the existing administration of the country, the Government have hitherto refrained from instituting criminal proceedings, or taking any other action against those of its promoters, who have advocated simultaneously with non-co-operation abstention from violence, and they have instructed local Governments to take action against those persons only who in furtherance of the movement, have gone beyond the limits originally set by its organisers, and have by speech or writing openly incited the public to violence, or have attempted to tamper with the loyalty of the army or of the police. In adopting this policy the Government have been influenced by several considerations."

Reasons for that Policy.

"In the first place they have been reluctant to interfere with the liberty of speech and the freedom of the Press at a time when India is on the threshold of a great advance towards the realisation of the principle of self-government within the Empire, when indeed the first elections are already in sight. In recognition of that advance, and in pursuance of the spirit of the King-Emperor's Proclamation of December last, they extended His Majesty's clemency to many hundreds of political offenders who were then in custody, and they since released from the restrictions of the Press Act, numerous papers which were formerly held to security. Although these concessions have in many cases failed to evoke any response or recognition, the Government are loth to reimpose restrictions which have so lately been relaxed."

"In the second place the Government are at all times reluctant to embark on a campaign against individuals, some of whom may be actuated by honest if misguided motives. This consideration is reinforced by the knowledge that the form of prosecution under the ordinary criminal law, would be likely to give those against whom it might be directed the opportunity of posing as martyrs, and might also by evoking false sympathy, swell the number of adherents to a cause which has in itself no intrinsic merit to commend it to public acceptance."

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" The third and chief consideration however, which has influenced the Government of India, is their trust in the common-sense of India, their belief that the sanity of the classes and the masses alike would reject non-co-operation as a visionary and chimerical scheme, which if successful, could only result in widespread disorder, political chaos, and ruin of all those who have any real stake in the country. The appeal of non-co-operation is to prejudice and ignorance, and its creed is devoid of any constructive genius. India has had bitter experience of the fruits of its forerunner, the Satyagraha cult, and the Governor General in Council still hopes that with that lamentable warning before her eyes, India will reject the much greater peril of non-co-operation."

Confidence in Public good sense.

" Its principal exponents have frankly avowed that their object is to destroy the present Government, to dig up the foundations of the British Government in India, and they have promised their followers that if only their gospel be generally accepted, India shall be self-governing and independent within one year."

Aims of Non-Co-operation.

" The full consummation of their hopes would leave India defenceless alike against foreign aggression and internal chaos. All the benefits of a stable Government and undisturbed peace, the results that have been attained by the orderly progress of India for more than a century, and the still greater results which, it is hoped, will attend her advance under the Reforms Scheme, her material prosperity and her political progress, are all to be sacrificed to the irresponsible caprice of a few misguided men."

" The confidence of the Government in the good sense of India has already been in a great measure justified by the unanimity of her best minds in their condemnation of the non-co-operation movement, for almost all the weighty body of educated opinion has rejected this new doctrine as one that is fraught with the most mischievous potentialities for India. But having failed to secure a favourable verdict from educated India, the leaders of the movement have now been driven to increase the violence of their appeal to the masses and to endeavour to enlist under the banner of non-co-operation the sympathy and assistance of immature school boys and college students."

" Herein lie two great dangers for India which have compelled the Government to place the issues plainly before the country in the hope that its most enlightened and stable elements may clearly recognise the

Dangers of the movement.

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necessity of a vigorous and united action to prevent any further extension of the mischief. Of these two latest developments the most immoral is undoubtedly the mischievous attack which has been made on the youth of the country, who are to be sacrificed to the exigencies of a political campaign. It matters not to the leaders of the movement if the foundations of home life are sapped and children set against their parents and teachers, provided their own ends are attained and the success of their campaign assured."

"The appeal to the illiterate and the ignorant is also fraught with very grave danger. It has already resulted in at least one deplorable crime, and it is certain that the restless activity of the leaders who wander from one city to another stirring up excitement amongst the masses by inflammatory speeches and by the reiteration of false statements, despite constant contradiction, may at any moment result in a serious outbreak of disorder."

Co-operation invited.

"The best weapon to combat both dangers lies in the practical help and sympathy of the sober-minded and moderate men, and the Government therefore calls on all who have the good of India at heart to organise themselves and take concerted measures to assist the cause of law and order by active opposition to the movement, by the exercise of their influence over the minds of the ignorant and the immature, and by public exposure and denunciation of the evil of non-co-operation, and of the anarchy to which it must inevitably lead."

"The Government appreciate the action which has already been taken in this direction by men of liberal opinion and moderate mind throughout India, and they congratulate the country, more particularly on the manifestations of public displeasure which has occurred in regard to the mischievous attack on education. The opposition which has been offered to this phase of the movement by the Trustees of the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, by the authorities of the Khalsa College at Amritsar, by many other school authorities, by the great majority of teachers and parents, and also by large sections of the student community itself, is indeed a most helpful feature in the situation."

"The Government realise that it is to enlightened public opinion they must chiefly trust for a dissipation of the danger that now envelopes India as it is on that same public opinion that India's political future must depend. It is in this trust that they have refrained in the past so far as is consistent with the public safety from repressive action, for they consider that such action should only be employed in the last

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resort, when indeed failure to adopt it would be a criminal betrayal of the people."

"How long, with due regard to their ultimate responsibility for the public safety, the Government will be able to maintain that policy will depend largely on the success which attends the efforts of the moderate citizens to check the extension of the movement and keep its dangers within bounds."

Effect of this Resolution.

The studiously moderate tone of this Resolution and its frank exposition of Government policy, served in no small degree to strengthen the hands of the growing body of opinion which regarded the non-co-operation campaign as chimerical in its aims and dangerous in its methods. But the real trial of strength between those who aimed at complete and immediate self-government whether with or without chaos, and those who believed in a process of orderly development towards responsible government within the Empire, was generally recognised to be the success or failure of the approaching elections.

Preparation for Reforms.

Mention has already been made of the immense volume of work which the Government of India had been compelled to undertake in the course of the year 1920 in order to secure the realisation in practice of the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee upon the Government of India Act. The framing of election rules, the organisation of electorates, the institution of electoral machinery—all these and many other similar preliminary requisites to democratic Government were accomplished with remarkable speed during the spring and summer of 1920. The rules which were framed by the newly instituted Reforms Department of the Government of India were submitted to the Joint Committee in the early summer of 1920 and received the final assent of Parliament before the end of July. In his opening speech to the Imperial Legislative Council on August 20th, Lord Chelmsford said :—

Review of Progress.

"In the speech which I delivered in January last, when opening the previous Session of the Council, I referred to the press of work which the passing of the Government of India Act of 1919 had involved and outlined the steps that were being taken for dealing with it. In the interval that has since elapsed, we have forwarded for the sanction of the Secretary of State, and have published for general information, drafts of all the rules under the Act to which the approval of Parliament is required. In the preparation of these rules, we have been greatly assisted by the loyal co-opera-

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tion of the provinces and by the suggestions and criticisms of our advisory committee, whose deliberations were marked by a spirit of reason and moderation that I gladly take this opportunity of acknowledging. We still await the orders of the Secretary of State as regards the important constitutional rules under sections 45-A and 29-A, but the electoral rules and the rules of legislative business have been approved by Parliament in a form that differs but slightly from the rules as drafted by us. I congratulate the Council on the fact that the electoral rules have been sanctioned at so early a date, because this will enable us to bring the Reforms Scheme into operation sooner than would otherwise have been possible. I am aware of the criticisms that have been passed on some of our rules. It was inevitable that there should be differences of opinion on some points, but I am glad to observe that the provisions to which exception has been taken are comparatively few. Hon'ble Members will allow me to quote paragraph 1 of the first Report of the Joint Committee of the two Houses of Parliament appointed to revise the draft rules made under the Government of India Act :—

> " The Committee desire in the forefront of their Report to express their appreciation of the great care and ability which are displayed in the drafts, and of the remarkable expedition with which this heavy task has been achieved by the Government of India and the local Governments. As will be seen from the Report, the Committee have made but few alterations in the rules as drafted by the authorities in India, and they desire to record their considered opinion that the rules, with these few alterations, are an accurate, but at the same time liberal, interpretation both of the general recommendations contained in their Report on the Bill and of the intentions of Parliament in framing the Act."

" To those in India who have laboured in this field it must be a matter of great gratification to receive this generous appreciation of their work, and I, who have seen this work at close quarters, would like to add my humble tribute to that accorded by the Joint Committee."

In that same Session of the Council, the last to be held under the old Morley-Minto régime, was also passed the Corrupt Practices Act, which had to be brought into operation before the first elections were held. This Act, as subsequent experience was to show, was of the first

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importance in India, where the social system lends itself to the application of social, moral and religious pressure in a degree to which the more materialistic West with its cruder forms of intimidation can supply no parallel.

The First Elections.

In the appendix to this volume there will be found tables exhibiting the composition of each provincial Legislative Council as finally established under the rules, as well as of the bicameral Legislature of India, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. In every province special preparations were made to deal with the business of the elections which were fixed at varying dates in the month of November. As the time for the exercise of the franchise by the new electorate approached, the non-co-opreators re-doubled their efforts to secure the ruin of the scheme. Every form of pressure was put upon candidates and voters alike. In some places there can be no doubt that intimidation, either direct or indirect, was freely used. Attempts were also made to procure the boycott of candidates and voters by appealing to religious sentiment. It was even reported in one place that religious mendicants, of the kind whom India reverences so deeply, were openly declaring that any one who voted for a particular leader of the Moderate party would be guilty of the incredible enormity of killing one hundred kine. Meetings were broken up, candidates were threatened, polling booths were picketted; but remarkable to relate the attempt to render the elections abortive was a conspicuous failure. Only in six cases out of 637 was an election impossible owing to the absence of a candidate. The actual proportion of those exercising their vote to the total strength on the electoral rôle varied widely from province to province and from town to town. Broadly speaking, the voting in rural constituencies was more satisfactory than in the cities, but even this generalization cannot be accepted without reservation. The actual proportions varied from 8 per cent. in Bombay city where the non-co-operators came nearest to success, to 70 per cent. in some of the urban constituencies of Madras Presidency. In the Punjab, which from its unfortunate history during the preceding two years might have been expected to present a fertile soil for the propaganda of non-co-operation, the voting in rural constituencies was as high as 36 per cent., while in the general constituencies throughout the province the figure was as high as 32 per cent. In the United Provinces, where a particularly vigorous campaign of boycott had been conducted, the voting averaged 33 per cent. in the contested constituencies, rising

Their success.

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in the case of Lucknow and certain other centres to 60 per cent. As will be seen from the figures given in an appendix, the all-India proportions of voting for the provincial Councils ranged from 20 to 30 per cent.; for the Legislative Assembly the proportion was roughly 20 per cent. and for the Council of State no less than 40 per cent.

Failure of Non-Co-operation.

Ingenious machinery was devised for enabling illiterate voters to record their votes. In the case of Bombay, for example, it was decided to adopt the coloured box or symbol system. There was a separate box at each polling station, to which was allotted the colour or the symbol given to a particular candidate. Where the number of candidates was five or fewer the boxes were coloured white, black, yellow, red and green. Where the number of candidates was greater than five, to each was assigned a symbol, such as a horse, cart or sword, or some other universally recognizable article, for it was found that country voters could not be trusted to recognise with certainty more than the five colours above mentioned. The electorate of rural India was quite capable, even at this early stage in its education, of making up its mind upon questions in which it was intimately concerned; and in fact, gave its vote with business-like precision to candidates who announced their intention of dealing with local grievances.

The result of the election plainly showed that the non-co-operators had failed in their attempt to secure the ruin of the new machinery. The councillors had been elected despite the efforts of the opposition and Mr. Gandhi's campaign had received a corresponding check. The issue between the non-co-operators and the co-operators therefore shifted from the possibility or impossibility of holding the elections, and finally resolved itself into the question as to whether the Reforms were genuine or were a Machiavellian device on the part of the Bureaucracy for continuing India's servitude. The issue thus framed made its appearance on many occasions during the months of November and December 1920. Those who believed or professed to believe that the new Councils were to be a snare and the new Reforms a delusion, were considerably perturbed by the publication in the middle of December of His Majesty's instructions to the Governors who were to preside over the Reformed Provincial Councils.

Fresh issues.

These instructions will be found in an appendix, but the generous tone which they displayed, and, above all things, the authority of His Majesty's name,

Governors' instructions.

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served to convince many of those who were sceptical as to the wisdom of the course pursued by the Liberal Party, that their confidence in the good intentions of the British Government had not been misplaced. The Governors were enjoined by His Majesty to do all in their power to maintain the standard of good administration, to undertake the promotion of all measures making for social and industrial welfare and tending to fit all classes of the population without distinction to take their due share in the public life and government of the country. They were further instructed to see that all those persons now and hereafter to be enfranchised should appreciate the duties and responsibilities and advantages of their position, and that those who exercised the power of returning representatives to the Legislative Council should perceive the effects of their votes, and come to look for the redress of their grievances and the improvement of their conditions in the working of representative institutions. The Governors were further directed to remember that in considering the advice of their Minister, due regard must be paid to their relations with the Legislative Council and to the wishes of the people in the Province as expressed by their representatives.

The Nagpur Session of Congress.

The year 1920 closed as usual with the meetings of the great party organizations in India. As had been the case in the year 1919, the Moderates and the Nationalists held their separate meetings. The session of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur was again the scene of another notable triumph for Mr. Gandhi. Despite the protests of many who had hitherto represented the front rank of Extremist stalwarts; despite the resignation from the Congress of many prominent persons who since the special September Session had found themselves out of harmony with the spirit pervading it, Mr. Gandhi not only succeeded in securing the confirmation of his non-co-operation programme, but in addition he was able to alter the old "creed" of the Congress in such a fashion as to eliminate the declared adherence of that body to the British connection and to constitutional methods of agitation. The session was marked not merely by Mr. Gandhi's personal ascendancy but also by the extreme intolerance on the part of his followers of the slightest criticism of or divergence from the views put forward by their idol. Well tried leaders like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, and Mr. Khaparde, who but a few months previously had been received with a respect well-nigh equivalent to adoration, were howled down ignominiously when they attempted to depict

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the difficulties in which the country would be landed by the adoption of Mr. Gandhi's programme—a sad illustration of the vicissitudes inseparable from the life of a national hero in India to-day. As a result of the Nagpur meeting the Congress has become more and more sectional in character. It has now ceased to be representative of anything save the Extreme Left of Indian Nationalist opinion; and at Nagpur for almost the first time on record, it was composed very largely of the personal adherents of a single leader.

The Liberal Conference.

In refreshing contrast with the impracticable spirit displayed in the session of the Indian National Congress and of the Muslim League at Nagpur was the sober tone of the debates in the session of the National Liberal Federation. While yielding nothing to the Nationalists in the depth of their feeling upon the Punjab affair, the Moderate leaders displayed a firm grasp of the political situation. They were not prepared to admit that the Reforms now inaugurated conferred upon India that share of political responsibility to which they conceived she was already entitled, but they none the less reaffirmed their determination to work the Reforms in such manner as to hasten the date of India's constitutional advance. They roundly asserted their conviction of the foolishness of the non-co-operation movement, and expressed their apprehensions as to the consequences to which its continuance was likely to lead. Considering themselves as they did the spiritual heirs of the old Congress organisation, which prior to its capture by the Extremist Party had always stood for co-operation and ordered progress, they remained fixed in their determination to carry forward the work of the new constitution. The following quotation from the speech of the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, now a Minister in the Reformed Council of United Provinces, is selected as typical of the spirit which inspires the National Liberal Federation.

"Remember Mill's saying that one man with a conviction is equal to ninety-nine without one. Do not apologise, do not doubt, do not hesitate. Go forward with the strength of conviction and with the determination that conquers obstacles. Preach the doctrines of the Liberal Party, explain to the people that we are the inheritors of the old Congress whose objects we are faithfully carrying out, establish Liberal leagues wherever they are not, and bring more of the faithful into the fold. Be sure, in building up our party we but serve the country, we have no other motive. In this national work revered founders of the Congress who are not with us in mortal form, will be with us in spirit. And the faith in me tells me that howsoever we may be mis-

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understood to-day by a section of our countrymen whose commendable patriotic zeal for immediate political salvation prevents them from correctly appreciating our stand-point, the day will come when the passions and prejudices of the moment will have subsided and persuasive reason will again hold up the guiding lamp, and when our motives as well as our wisdom will be vindicated. Whether it may come sooner or later, and even if it may not come, make no difference. We will not be deflected from what we are convinced is our duty to our Motherland."

The Duke's visit.

The year closed with preparations for the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught who was acting as a substitute for the Prince of Wales in the task of inaugurating the Reformed Constitution. The non-co-operators had some time past announced their intention of boycotting the Royal visitor, and though there was little doubt that they spoke for none but a small section of opinion, the mere fact that such a plan could be mooted publicly, revealed how deeply Indian opinion has been agitated by the unfortunate occurrences which we have had occasion to notice in the course of this review. But despite the noisy clamour of the Left Wing Extremist Section, the Liberals and the Government pressed on steadily in their determination to steer the ship of state along her new course. The appointment of Lord Sinha as Governor of Bihar and Orissa—the first Indian to hold charge of a provincial Government—was recognised by all sane and moderate opinion as an augury of better things. As soon as the elections were over and the relative position of different sections in the new electorate could be determined, Ministers and Councillors were appointed to constitute the executive Government of the new provincial administration. In Madras it is interesting to notice, the elections proved that the fears of the non-Brahmin community were unfounded. But perhaps the most sensational of the new appointments and certainly the standing example of Government's determination to accept honestly the revised position of the English and Indian races in India, was provided by the selection of Lala Harkishanlall, who a few months previously had been under sentence for complicity in the Punjab disturbances, as a Minister, in the reconstituted administration of the province.

New personalities.

What may be termed the moral effect of these final preparations for inaugurating the new machinery of government was very great.

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So long as the Government of India Act existed merely as a record upon the pages of the Statute book, it was possible for the opponents of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to adopt an attitude of scepticism towards both the design and the execution of the new structure. But with the holding of the elections, with the appointment of the new Ministers and Councillors, and with the issue of the Royal Instructions to the Governors of the Provinces, the Reforms became something real and living, something of which serious account must be taken.

Subsequent events.

It would be misleading if at this point our narrative were to terminate too abruptly with the close of the calendar year 1920. For it is in the first three months of the year 1921 that the events described in this and the preceding chapter have found their natural culmination. The character of the first session of the new Indian legislative machinery was of the very greatest importance. Upon the manner in which the members realised and discharged their responsibilities, naturally hung the success of the whole great constitutional experiment at which the Government of India have laboured for the last three years. It was then with a feeling of some anxiety that Indian administrators looked for the opening of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly. Meeting as they did in an atmosphere so unfavourable to calm deliberation, even the most optimistic onlooker might well have deemed that the chances of success in this, the first and most critical session, were somewhat small. Friend and foe of the new Government alike prepared to watch the progress of the reformed Indian Legislature with the deepest attention.

Past question, the new Constitution derived an excellent start from the presence of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. He bore a message of good-will from His Majesty the King-Emperor ; he had laid aside leisure well-earned to re-visit the India he loved, in order, as he said, to heal wounds, to unite unhappy differences, to persuade all men to forgive and forget. His personal inauguration of the reformed Legislatures, both Provincial and Central, provided the occasion for speeches which were balm to the wounds of India. Less perhaps by his actual words, though these of themselves brought a message of peace and good-will to thousands of souls momentarily embittered, than by his gracious personality, the Duke accomplished in India a work which no one but the son of Queen Victoria could have performed. It was on the 9th February 1921 that he inaugurated the Parliament of India. His speech was an inspiring one, and it ended with a personal appeal for forgiveness and forbearance on both sides which deeply moved the hearts of every

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one present. " Since I landed, " he said, " I have felt around me bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends. The shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India. I know how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of the events in the Punjab. No one can deplore these events more sincerely and more intensely than I do myself. I have reached a time of life when I most desire to heal wounds and to reunite those who have been disunited. In what must be, I fear, my last visit to the India I love so well, here in the new capital, inaugurating a new constitution, I am moved to make you a personal appeal, put in the simple words that come from my heart, not to be coldly and critically interpreted. My experience tells me that misunderstanding susually mean mistakes on either side. As an old friend of India, I appeal to you all—British and Indians—to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day."

The Duke's appeal.

That this appeal did not fall upon deaf ears, soon became amply apparent. The relations between the official government and the new Indian Legislatures have been, throughout the whole of this first critical session, everything that can be desired. The non-official Members of the Legislative Assembly and of the Council of State, who now control an absolute majority over any number of votes which Government can possibly command, have throughout revealed a sense of responsibility, of sobriety and of statesmanship which has surpassed the most sanguine expectations even of those who believe most firmly in India's capacity for responsible government. On the side of the officials, it must be stated, there has been a generous response. Lord Chelmsford remarked, when the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were inaugurated, that the principle of autocracy in the administration of India has now been definitely discarded. The officials have not been slow to exhibit their realization of the change which has come over the spirit of government in India. They have gladly acknowledged the power of the new Legislatures ; have taken them into confidence ; have sought their co-operation, and recognised their responsibilities. From the day when the first business of the Session was transacted, the attitude both of the official and of the non-official sides of the House was never for one moment in doubt.

Changed atmosphere.

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This attitude, so encouraging for the rapid progress of India towards responsible Government, and so happy in its indication that the growing pains of the country are passing away, became more than ever noteworthy in view of the difficulties, already indicated, which beset the new Indian Parliament. It was generally felt that the debate upon the Punjab question would strike once and for all the keynote of the session. On the 15th February 1921, a resolution was moved by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, recommending the Governor General to declare the firm resolve of the Government of India to maintain the connection of India with the British Empire on the principle of perfect racial equality; to express regret that the Martial Law administration of the Punjab departed from this principle, and to mete out deterrent punishments to officers who have been guilty; and to satisfy himself that adequate compensation was awarded to the families of those killed or injured at the Jallianwala Bagh. The notable feature of the debate which ensued was the deep sense of responsibility felt both by the official and the non-official speakers as to the present and future effects of the words they uttered. The speeches of the Indian members revealed no rancour and no desire for vengeance. They made it plain that they were fighting for a principle. On the other side, the officials re-asserted with an added emphasis which this occasion had for the first time made possible, their disapproval of the acts which had given rise to such bitter resentment among the educated classes of India. Sir William Vincent, who led the debate from the Government benches made plain the deep regret of the administration at the perpetration of those improper actions, and their firm determination that so far as human foresight could avail any repetition would be for ever impossible. He repudiated emphatically the suggestion that Indian lives were valued more lightly than the lives of Englishmen, expressing his deep regret that the canons of conduct for which the British administration stood had been violated by some of the acts of certain individual officers. The sincerity and the earnestness of the Home Member's desire to assuage the feelings of Indians exercised a profound effect upon the assembly. Magnanimously acknowledging the attitude of Government, the Assembly agreed to withdraw the third clause calling for deterrent punishment (a clause indeed which under the circumstances it would have been difficult to put into effect). And the resolution as amended was then accepted by the whole House.

The Punjab Resolution.

The effect of this debate and of the frank admission by Government that they realised and regretted the injury done to Indian national

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sentiment by improper acts on the part of certain officers during the Punjab disturbances, exercised a marked influence on these currents of feeling which have already been described. But it did more than this; it showed to all fair-minded observers that Government was firm in its determination to give the new legislative machinery of India that respect which was its due. The note of harmony and co-operation struck in the course of the debate continued throughout the whole session. If on the one hand the non-official members of both the Upper and the Lower Houses showed themselves fully alive to the responsibilities as well as to the privileges of the position in which they found themselves, on the other hand the officials exhibited on every occasion their conviction that the Assembly and the Council of State were now sharing with them the government of the country. The appointment of a Committee to examine repressive legislation; the despatch of a new delegation embodying some of the most advanced leaders of the Khilafat movement to England in connection with the revision of the treaty of Sevres, were both typical of the attitude of the officials towards the Assembly.

Its effect.

But if the conduct of the Assembly during the Punjab debate had revealed at once the dignity, good feeling, and statesmanship of the non-official Members, the attitude of the Lower House towards the Budget exhibited in yet higher degree both its sobriety and business capacity. With the exception of the charges ear-marked for military and political heads, the ordinary administration of the central as of the local Governments now depends upon the voting of grants by the legislatures. Now as will be indicated in a later chapter, the disastrous economic history of the year 1920 had resulted in a deficit of £18½ millions, which had to be met by the imposition of further taxation. The narrative of events which has made up this review will have failed in its purpose, if the reader has not gathered some idea of the difficulties and temptations which must have beset the newly elected members of the Indian legislature when faced with the problem of imposing fresh taxation in the heated political atmosphere of the moment. But to the lasting credit of Indian statesmen it must be recorded that they faced the necessity imposed upon them by the financial crisis manfully, and with a full sense of their responsibility. It must be plain to any impartial student that they might well have courted and sought popularity amongst advanced sections of opinion in India by refusing utterly to participate in the taxation which the executive Government required for carrying on the

The Budget.

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business of the State. To this temptation the members of the Legislature rose superior. Exercising their power of the purse to scrutinise closely and in a business-like fashion the demands for grants presented to them, they none the less passed these grants and endorsed the suggested taxation proposals with comparatively few alterations.

Faith justified.

From all that has been said it will be apparent that the first session of the Reformed Parliament of India has more than justified the faith displayed in the capacity of Indians by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford. It has shown that the process of entrusting responsibility to Indian statesmen calls out in return a rare degree of capacity for discharging the obligations which that responsibility entails. Hence it is that before the termination of Lord Chelmsford's eventful and most critical term of office, he had the happiness of observing the translation into practice under the most encouraging auguries of those constitutional reforms for which, from the earliest hour of his Viceroyalty, he had toiled so hard.

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CHAPTER IV.

The Economic Life of India.

It is necessary to premise any account of India's economic life by some indication of the general conditions regulating the finances of the country. It must be remembered that a very large proportion of the revenue of the Government of India is derived not from taxation, but from such sources as Land Revenue, Opium, Railways, Forests and Irrigation. The country being still in the main agricultural, Indian revenues are always largely influenced by the character of the season; indeed, it has more than once been remarked that Indian finance resolves itself into the art of gambling in rain. A second factor in India's financial existence has hitherto been her large commitments in London, in payment for which a sum averaging about £20 million sterling is annually required. The major portion of this sum is interest on capital which has been lent to India for the purpose of internal development. Originally borrowed at a very low rate, in most cases about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., it now brings to the Indian exchequer a return of approximately 7 per cent. Another item in the annual remittance is payment for Government stores of a kind which hitherto have not been obtainable in India. This item is destined gradually to disappear with the increasing industrial development of the country, of which an account will be given in subsequent pages. Payment is also made to England for the leave allowance of State servants and for their pensions after they have retired from active service. Until lately, the annual remittance to London included the charge for the maintenance of the India Office; but as a result of the general overhauling of the relations between England and India consequent upon the declaration of August 20th, 1917, the India Office is now a charge upon the British Exchequer. In substitution for this charge, however, will henceforth come the cost of maintaining the Indian High Commissioner, who will discharge for India agency functions in England similar to those discharged by the High Commissioners of the self-governing Dominions.

General conditions of Indian Finance.

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The Former system. Up to the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, the budget of the Government of India was made to include the transactions of local Governments, the revenue enjoyed by the latter being mainly derived from sources of income which were shared between the Government of India and themselves. Broadly speaking, certain heads of revenue, such as the land revenue, excise, salt, income tax and the profits from productive irrigation works, were divided between the provincial and the central Governments. The provincial Governments took the receipts from Forests, and Registration, as well as from Courts and Jails. To the Government of India went the revenue from opium, customs, railways, posts and telegraphs, and tributes from the Indian States. The central Government out of these incomings was responsible for defence charges, for the upkeep of railways, posts and telegraphs, for the payment of interest on debt, and for the Home charges. The provinces from their incomings met the expenses connected with land revenue and general administration, with forests, police, courts and jails, with education and with medical services. Charges for irrigation and ordinary public works were common to both the central and to the provincial Governments.

The New system. This state of affairs has now passed away as a result of the changes introduced by the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. The authors of the Report had urged the necessity of complete separation between the finances of the central Government and those of the various provincial Governments, and to this end had outlined a scheme. Their main recommendations were that no heads of revenue should continue divided; that land revenue, irrigation, excise and judicial stamps should be completely provincialised; and that income tax and general stamps should become central heads of revenue. Inasmuch as under this re-arrangement the Government of India would lose heavily, the scheme proposed that contributions should be levied on the provinces to make up the deficit. For the purpose of fixing the provincial contributions, the authors of the Report chose an assessment proportionate to the gross surplus which each province would enjoy under the new allocation of resources. In order to fix the standard on an equitable scale of contribution a Committee was appointed in January 1920 to investigate the financial relations between the new central and provincial Governments. This Committee consisted of Lord Meston, Mr. Charles Roberts and Lieutenant Commander Hilton Young. It was particularly concerned to determine first the contributions which were to be paid by the various provinces

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to the central Government for the financial year 1921-1922, and secondly the modifications to be made in the provincial contributions with a view to their equitable distribution. The Committee proposed that receipts from General Stamps should be credited to the provinces and not to the central Government, and suggested a plan by which the provincial governments were to contribute £9·83 millions (983 lacs) to the central Government in 1921-1922. The standard contribution of the provinces were also fixed, as proportions of the total contribution necessary to make up the deficit of the Government of India, this proportion being 19 per cent., from Bengal; 18 per cent., from United Provinces; 17 per cent., from Madras; 13 per cent., from Bombay; 10 per cent., from Bihar and Orissa; 9 per cent., from the Punjab; 6½ per cent., from Burma; 5 per cent., from the Central Provinces; and 2½ per cent., from Assam. The Committee recommended that contributions should be readjusted to this standard percentage by equal increments extending over a period of seven years.

Since the Reforms, of which this arrangement was an integral part, did not come into operation until the close of the period under review, we may postpone any consideration of its working until the issue of the next Report, and pass on to a consideration of the financial history of the calendar year 1920. Seldom in India has there been a contrast so extraordinary between the conditions obtaining at the beginning and at the end of a period so short. As was related in last year's Report, in India as in many countries of the world the armistice had been followed by a general trade boom. Though there were signs that this boom rested on no sure foundation and that the chaotic condition into which most of the belligerent countries had allowed their finances to fall would, sooner or later, react upon their economic position, nevertheless the foreign demand for India's produce was still strong; and as a result of a huge balance of trade in India's favour, exchange had risen to heights previously undreamt of. The 1919 monsoon had been an excellent one, and public revenues had grown considerably during the year. The only event which had seriously disturbed the anticipation of the budget presented by Lord Meston was the Afghan War in the summer of 1919, which had converted an expected small surplus into a deficit of some 23 crores. There seemed in fact to be only two clouds on India's financial horizon at the beginning of the period under review. There was first, the legacy of war finance which pointed to the need of severe economy, and secondly, the continuance of high internal prices which

The year 1920.

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not only pressed severely on the mass of India's population but threatened to involve the taxpayer in considerable expense for wholesale revisions of pay of all State servants. But with a maintenance of the prosperity of the previous year, and a continued growth in the public revenues, it was hoped that the year 1920 could be faced without fear or misgiving. Unfortunately the trade boom passed away with uncanny rapidity, leaving behind it a trough of depression. On the one hand the great purchasing power accumulated by India after the war, itself enhanced by the high exchange value of the rupee obtaining in the cold weather of 1919-1920, was used to import very large quantities of manufactured goods of which during the war India was starved. So persistent was the rush of imports that not only did customs receipts break all records, but the Indian markets gradually became seriously over-stocked until at the end of the year 1920, dealers found themselves face to face with a very difficult financial position. On the other hand, the period under review has shown that the recovery of the greater part of the continent of Europe from the economic collapse resulting from the war is likely to be much more protracted than any one had anticipated. In consequence, the power of India's customers to buy her produce has of late been severely restricted, and before the end of 1920 the export trade began to suffer an almost unparallelled depression. The inability of many nations to purchase India's raw produce has resulted not only in a general contraction for the time being of her production, but also the piling up of stocks of many of her commodities. Further, simultaneously with the necessity, to be described later, of placing restrictions on the export of India's food grains in the interest of Indian consumers, there became manifest a marked falling off in Japan's consumption of raw cotton. During the year under review all these factors contributed to produce a violent swing of the pendulum; and the net exports of merchandise which for the year 1919 stood at £127 millions, became during the year 1920 transmuted into net imports of £21 millions. Misfortunes rarely come singly; and as if to add to the difficulties of India's economic position, the monsoon of 1920 has been on the whole a disappointment. Although it started well it ended badly; for the average rainfall of the monsoon period over the plains of India as a whole was 12 per cent. below normal.

Exchange.

The cumulative influence of all these adverse factors made itself markedly felt during the course of the year under review. In no branch of financial activity was this more obvious than in the case of exchange. In previous

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issues of this Report, mention was made of the fact that the rapidly advancing price of silver, combined with the continuous absorption of silver rupees in India, eventually proved that it was necessary to examine afresh the basic conception of the Indian currency and exchange systems. It must be remembered that the currency of India is rupees and rupee notes, with, before the war, a considerable circulation of sovereigns. In order to maintain the gold exchange value of this silver rupee in times of pressure, there has been built up a large reserve known as the gold standard reserve, held for the most part in London. The strain imposed by the war was so great, that in the course of the year 1918 the Indian currency note issue was only saved from a declaration of inconvertibility by the passing in America of the Pittman Act, which enabled India to procure 200 million ounces of silver from the United States. The later years of the war had introduced problems to meet which temporary measures had been adopted. But the months following the termination of hostilities, so far from seeing these problems pass away, seemed merely to aggravate their intensity. It was therefore thought desirable in the course of the year 1919 to appoint a Committee to examine the effect of the war on the Indian exchange and currency system, and to consider whether in the light of war experience and of possible variations in the price of silver, any modifications were required. As was mentioned in "India in 1919" the Committee submitted its Report just prior to the beginning of the period under review.

The Report of the Committee.

The Majority Report, which was signed by all the members but one, emphasized the desirability of restoring the stability of the rupee and of re-establishing the automatic working of the Indian Currency system. They deprecated a reduction in the silver content of the rupee, and considered that it was inadvisable to postpone the fixing of a stable rate of exchange. The balance of advantage, so it appeared to them, was decidedly on the side of linking the exchange value of the rupee to gold rather than to sterling. Considering that a high rate of exchange would mitigate the rise in Indian prices, would not seriously cramp industrial development, and would not permanently hamper Indian trade unless there were a great fall in world prices to which India did not adjust herself, they believed that the ratio of Rs. 10 to one sovereign would be suitable as the stable relation to be established.

The minority report, which was presented by Mr. Dalal, differed from the recommendations of the majority, in some important points.

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Mr. Dalal urged that the ratio of the rupee to gold should be fixed at fifteen to one, but Council Bills—rupee drafts which the Secretary of State sells in London upon the Indian treasuries—should be sold by competitive tender, and that reverse drafts—that is to say, sterling drafts on London sold in India—should be offered only at a rate based on an exchange value of 1*s*. 4*d*. He further suggested that while the price of silver was high, Government should coin two-rupee silver coins of reduced fineness and make them unlimited legal tender.

The main recommendations of the majority report were welcomed both by the Government of India and by the Secretary of State, and it was determined to give immediate effect to their proposal, that the rupee should have a fixed exchange value equal to 1-10th of the value of the gold contents of the sovereign. Unfortunately the circumstances under which the new policy was launched were exceptional. Currency conditions throughout the world were in an abnormal state and even neutral countries, which had escaped much of the worst consequences of the war, had found it difficult to maintain their exchanges at par with the United States, the only country where a free market in gold remained. In India, the demand for gold was strong, the price of a tola of 180 grains of bar gold being Rs. 32-4 in August 1919. The removal of the embargo on the export of gold by the United States Government, together with the freeing of other sources of supply, enabled the Government of India to reduce the premium on gold by fortnightly sales of bullion. But by the middle of 1920, the price had fallen only to Rs. 20-12 per tola, whereas the price corresponding to the ratio adopted by Government is Rs. 15-14. It was therefore impossible to offer a sovereign in return for ten rupees.

Difficulties.

The Government of India had to contend against a combination of particularly adverse forces. Just as the new policy was introduced, the London-New York exchange markedly weakened with the result that the rise in the rupee exchange, required to give full practical effect to the Currency Committee's recommendations, was far steeper than any one could have anticipated. In February 1920, for example, the rupee stood at just below 2*s*. 11*d*. Warned by the length of time which had elapsed between 1893 when the 1*s*. 4*d*. ratio had been decided upon, and 1898, when it had become stabilised after five years of restricted coinage, the Government of India did not expect the new ratio to be established immediately. They decided however to influence the exchange rate, in order eventually to stabilise exchange, by the sale of a limited amount of reverse councils ;

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but it became obvious that much of the tendering for drafts was of a speculative nature, and the very heavy demand for remittances seemed to have arisen as much from the transference of capital as from ordinary trade requirements. The continuance of the sale of reverse councils for the purpose of gradually raising the exchange rate to the theoretical ratio, rested upon the assumption that the balance of trade would continue favourable to India; but with the dramatic reversal of direction which took place soon after the middle of the year, this condition no longer held good. In the face of a force setting strongly in the opposite direction from that on which the theory of India's gold exchange system depended, the efforts of the Government of India to stabilise exchange with former expedients naturally proved unavailing. The exchange value of the rupee fell rapidly. There was considerable popular dissatisfaction with the conditions under which reverse councils were at first sold. Towards the end of February it was decided to discriminate against speculators in the acceptance of tenders; and there arose, principally on the Bombay side, a strong opposition to the continuance of the sale of reverse councils at all. Originally started under a political aspect, this movement spread also to a large number of the commercial community, both English and Indian. The sale of reverse councils was condemned as "legalised plunder of Indian funds" and "organised loot." The existing policy was generally regarded as one of wasting the sterling resources of the Government of India for the benefit of speculators in exchange, and of jeopardising the eventual ability to maintain a constant rate on the recovery of the dollar-sterling ratio. The Government, recognising that the demand for remittance was largely of a speculative nature, realised that any attempt to satisfy it would be likely to dissipate their resources to an extent which it would have been impossible to foresee at the inauguration of their policy. They therefore reduced the amount of their sales of reverse councils. The market rate thereafter fell swiftly; and some apprehension began to be felt in the commercial community at the possibility of exchange falling below 2*s.* sterling. The general trade position was at this stage indicating the inability of exports to balance imports, and in September the Government of India, being no longer in any doubt that the tide of trade had reversed, withdrew until further notice their weekly offer of sterling drafts on London. The rate of exchange thereupon steadily fell from about 1*s.* 10*d.* where it stood at the end of September, to 1*s.* 5$\frac{3}{4}$*d.* at the end of the year. Since September 1920, there has been no attempt

Fall in exchange.

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on the part of Government to regulate the course of exchange, it being realised that an endeavour to stabilise it at any level at all in the existing conditions of trade, would involve a dissipation of their sterling resources which would not then be available for the purpose when things became normal again.

Present position.

It will be seen from this brief sketch of the exchange history of the year 1920 that the expectations of the Government of India have been falsified; and that the attempt to make them good has weakened India's sterling resources, besides undoubtedly to some extent contributing to the excess of imports by encouraging over-buying on the part of the importer. But it is believed that the position will before long cure itself. The absorption of available stocks of India's produce in America and elsewhere cannot be long delayed, and some at least of her customers must shortly resume their purchases. There is nothing inherently wrong in India's financial, industrial, or commercial position, the fact being that the present condition of her trade is due almost entirely to factors external to herself. As another hopeful augury, it must be pointed out that there has been a large return of rupees from circulation. Mention has already been made of the currency crisis of 1918, and of the steps which were taken to save India from the difficulties of inconvertibility. Throughout 1919, as was related in last year's Report, the position slowly improved, but the absorption of rupees was still large. In the year 1920, there has been a very substantial return of rupees from circulation amounting up to the middle of February 1920 to about £24 millions (Rs. 24 crores). In consequence, there is no longer that substantial discount of currency notes in comparison with coin, which existed a year or two ago. It has thus been possible to remove all restrictions on the encashments of notes and to effect a contraction in their circulation, which stood at the end of 1920 at 161 crores as against 186 crores at the beginning of the year. The percentage borne by the metallic portion of the currency reserve to the total note circulating is now no less than 53 as against 46 in 1919. This great strengthening of the metallic portion of the currency reserve, together with the fact that it has been found possible to remove the restrictions on the movements of the precious metals, is certainly a matter for considerable satisfaction.

The 1921-1922 Budget.

On account of the forces whose working we have here examined the finances of the year 1921-1922 have been adversely affected. The budget for the year

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1920-1921 anticipated a total revenue of £132 millions against an expenditure of £130 millions. The anticipated expenditure included an item of £8¾ millions, representing an appropriation from revenue for meeting the deficiency in the paper currency reserve resulting from the revaluation of the sterling portion of that reserve on a two shilling basis. It was subsequently decided to make up the deficiency in a different way, so that the appropriated £8¾ millions accordingly dropped out. Hence, if the budget anticipations had been realised the revenue at the end of the year 1920-1921 ought to have shown a surplus of £10½ millions. In point of fact, indications at the moment of writing point to a deficit of £11¾ millions, the deficit being mainly due to military expenditure upon frontier operations. Nor was this all. The estimated expenditure for the year 1921-1922 is put at £129 millions, whereas on the basis of existing taxation, including provincial contributions, the revenue will amount to only £110·5 millions. In consequence of this, the first budget laid before the new Legislature of India exhibited a final deficit of £18⅓ millions. It therefore became necessary to go to the assembly with proposals for additional taxation. The House at the outset of its career was thus forced to face problems which necessarily entailed some unpopularity in the country. As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the members faced these problems with both courage and vision, lending their authority to the programme of taxation proposed by the Finance Member with a few very minor alterations. The additional taxation included, under Customs, an increase of the general *ad valorem* duty of 7½ per cent. to 11 per cent. except for matches and certain luxuries. Cotton manufactures were included, the Government of India having made it clear to His Majesty's Government that the sole object was additional revenue and that there was no ulterior motive of any kind. It was also proposed to replace the present *ad valorem* 7½ per cent. duty on matches by a specific duty. There were increases of rates on imported liquors, and a general increase of the *ad valorem* duty on such luxuries as motor cars, motor cycles, silk piece goods and the like. Other important increases under the head of customs are those on foreign sugar and on tobacco. A moderate increase was also proposed on goods traffic, since a decrease in the net income from railways made this justifiable. Changes were also proposed in the postal rates. It is believed that these taxes, endorsed as they are by the authority of the new Legislature, will afford a reasonable surplus of revenue over expenditure during the year 1921-1922.

Taxation.

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General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure charged to Revenue of the Government of India, in India and in England.

(Calculated at Rs. 15=£1.)

REVENUE.

—	Accounts, 1918-1919.	Revised Estimate, 1919-1920.	Budget Estimate, 1920-1921.
	£	£	£
Principal Heads of Revenue—			
Land Revenue	21,089,944	22,090,800	23,797,800
Opium	3,289,111	2,990,800	2,942,000
Salt	4,277,989	3,754,000	4,488,400
Stamps	6,018,976	7,223,100	7,507,500
Excise	11,557,518	12,752,300	13,674,000
Customs	12,120,641	14,919,500	17,009,700
Income Tax	7,758,462	15,771,000	11,390,400
Other Heads	4,316,273	5,045,700	5,169,800
TOTAL PRINCIPAL HEADS	70,428,914	84,547,200	85,979,600
Interest	3,829,422	4,380,100	4,015,600
Posts and Telegraphs	5,342,967	5,996,800	6,184,200
Mint	1,826,814	1,669,700	679,500
Receipts by Civil Departments	2,094,802	2,157,400	2,079,500
Miscellaneous	6,728,458	1,862,800	6,276,800
Railways: Net Receipts	24,962,239	21,607,300	21,774,700
Irrigation	5,346,507	5,843,600	5,945,200
Other Public Works	347,649	363,500	371,300
Military Receipts	2,349,972	7,141,600	1,519,500
TOTAL REVENUE	123,257,744	135,570,000	134,825,900
TOTAL	127,078,153	145,644,100	134,825,900

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General Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure charged to Revenue of the Government of India, in India and in England—contd.

(Calculated at Rs. 15=£1.)

EXPENDITURE.

—	Accounts, 1918-1919.	Revised Estimate, 1919-1920.	Budget Estimate, 1920-1921.
	£	£	£
Direct Demands on the Revenues	11,787,122	12,162,800	13,690,100
Interest	8,127,090	8,934,200	8,192,500
Posts and Telegraphs	3,974,954	4,725,300	6,073,500
Mint	305,810	356,200	258,200
Salaries and Expenses of Civil Departments.	23,688,218	25,845,000	28,295,000
Miscellaneous Civil Charges	6,292,776	6,498,200	8,614,700
Famine Relief and Insurance	1,000,000	1,248,100	1,000,000
Railways: Interest and Miscellaneous Charges	14,394,142	14,590,200	15,284,100
Irrigation	3,946,829	4,231,200	4,390,400
Other Public Works	5,651,871	6,909,000	9,104,100
Military Services	46,830,210	60,091,600	41,519,500
TOTAL EXPENDITURE, IMPERIAL & PROVINCIAL	125,999,022	145,591,800	136,422,100
Add—Provincial Surpluses: that is, portion of allotments to Provincial Governments not spent by them in the year.	1,143,955	757,300	
Deduct—Provincial Deficits: that is, portion of Provincial Expenditure defrayed from Provincial Balances.	*64,824*	*705,000*	*4,111,000*
TOTAL EXPENDITURE CHARGED TO REVENUE	127,078,153	145,644,100	132,311,100
SURPLUS	...	...	2,514,800
TOTAL	127,078,153	145,644,100	134,825,900

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Financial position of India.

At the end of the year under review, the national debt amounted to about £378 millions, or about £1 11*s*. per head of population, as compared with a total public revenue of £132 millions. This favourable position is largely due to the care with which, in pre-war years, outlay was restricted to available means. When the war began, almost the whole of India's debt represented productive outlay on railways and irrigation, normally yielding a return which exceeded considerably not only interest on the amount borrowed, but also interest on the small debt classified as unproductive. In March 1920 despite India's war contribution of £100 millions, the amount of the ordinary debt outstanding was actually £20 millions less than the contribution itself. Nor are these the only facts indicative of India's financial strength. The interest on her public debt is not only secured by the revenue from productive works, but is a charge on the public revenues as a whole. During the last six years, revenue and expenditure have approximately balanced at an average figure of £106 millions.

India's Trade.

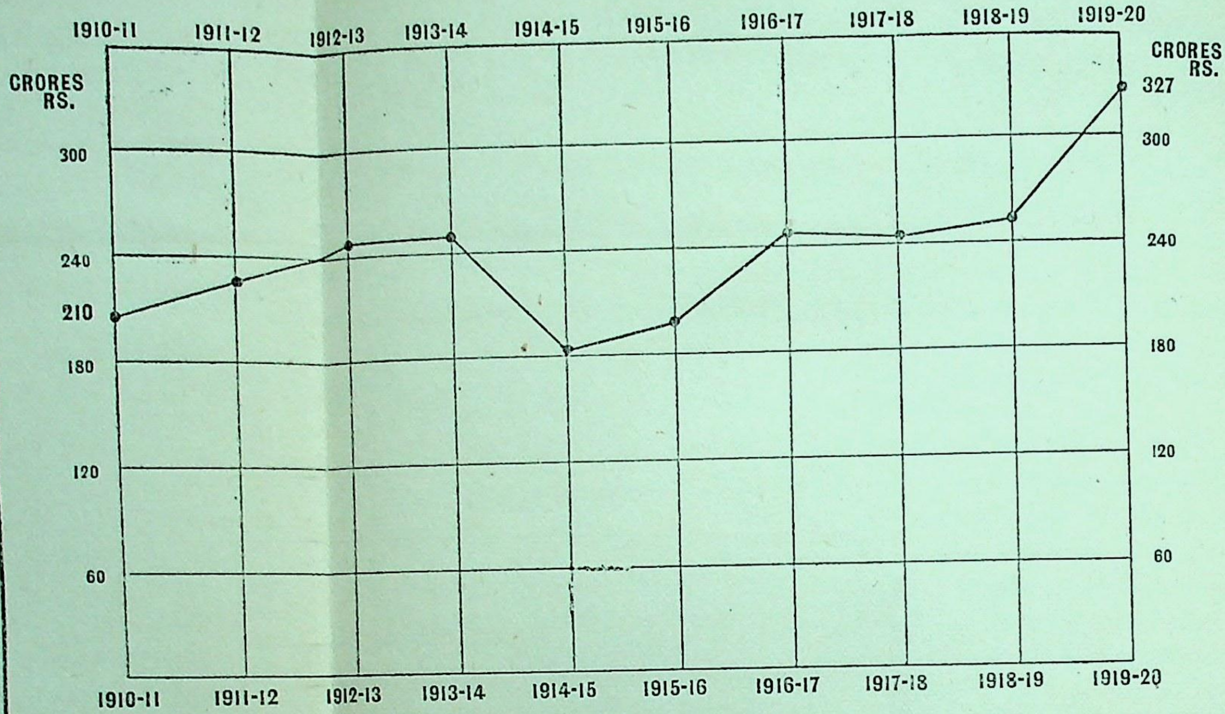
Turning now to the commercial record of the period under review, we notice that the calendar year 1920 has witnessed the passing away of the first great impulse which the war gave to India's trade. It may be remembered that in last year's Report we described the springing up in Allied countries of an immense demand for India's products, which for some time subsequent to the termination of hostilities showed no sign of cessation. The financial year 1919-1920 illustrates the last phase of the influence of war conditions upon India's foreign trade. While during the months April 1919 to March 1920 there were considerable relaxations in the severity of war restrictions, the aftermath of the struggle was apparent in a deficit of tonnage resulting in high freight rates, as well as in an abnormal range of prices, due partly to inflated paper currency and partly to reduced productive powers. But with the removal of the war prohibitions on commercial intercourse with enemy countries, and on the export of such articles as raw jute, oil seeds, hides and skins, Indian trade boomed, despite high prices, railway and cable congestion, labour difficulties and fluctuating rates of exchange. As was described in last year's Report the crop failures of 1918-1919 had necessitated the continuance of Government control over the trade in such important foodstuffs as wheat and rice, but the continued rise in the sterling value of the rupee encouraged imports without appreciably affecting exports, consisting as they did at this period mainly of raw materials able to

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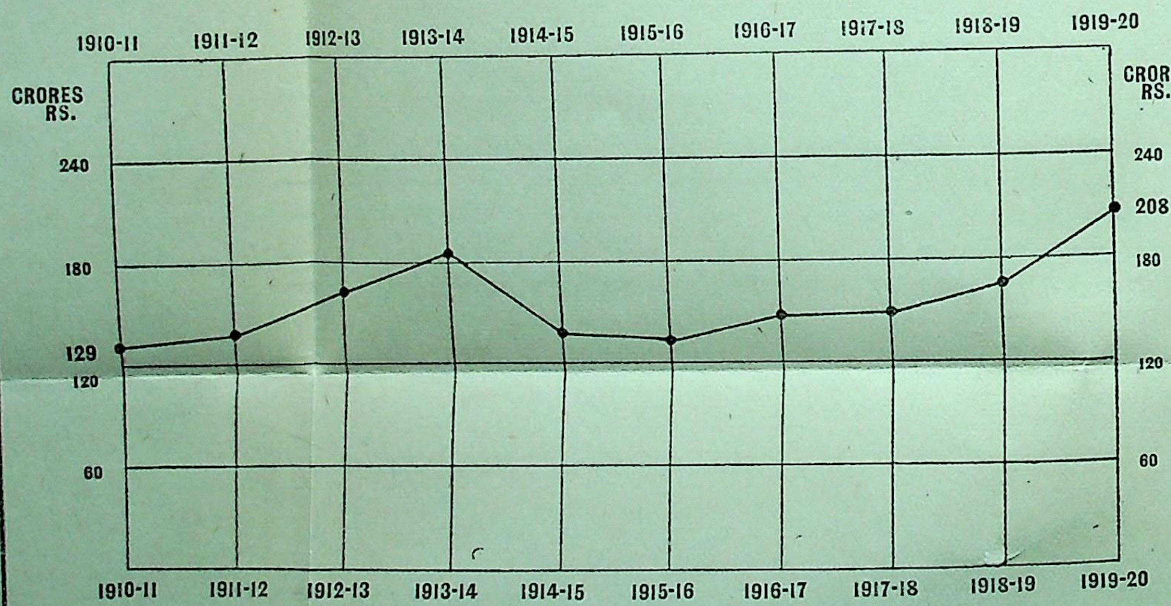
PORTS, IMPORTS, AND NET EXPORTS OF PRIVATE MERCHANDISE DURING THE TEN YEARS ENDING 1919-20.

1. EXPORTS

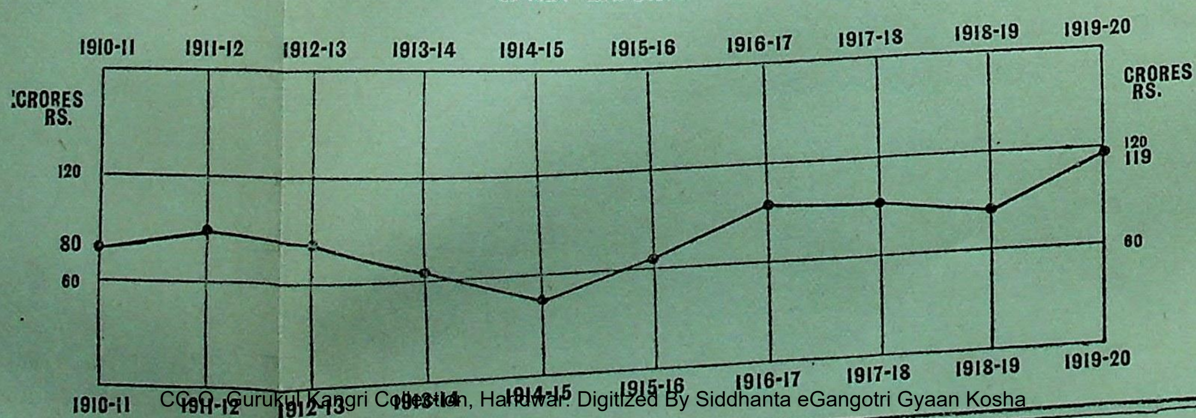


Note.—Exports of merchandise are inclusive of re-exports.

2. IMPORTS

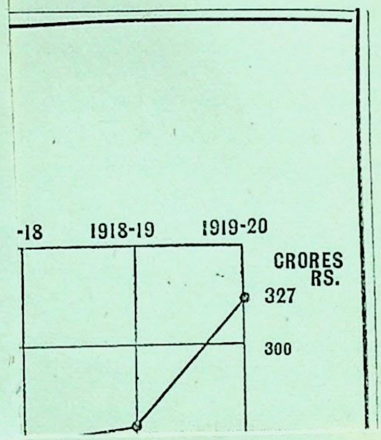


3. NET EXPORTS



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DURING THE TEN YEARS



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find buyers at almost any price. Moreover, as related elsewhere, the rainfall of 1919-1920 was unusually favourable, and the financial year closed with improved prospects, which were unfortunately not realised.

Imports and exports.

During the year 1919-1920 the total foreign trade of British India attained the unprecedented figure of £553 millions (on the basis of a two shilling rupee) as against £427 millions in the preceding year. Imports were valued at £208 millions, representing an increase of 23 per cent. over last year's figures; while exports including re-exports were valued at £327 millions, an advance of 29 per cent. upon the previous year. Generally speaking, as compared with the year 1918-1919, the large increase in the value of imports was due mainly to sugar, mineral oils, iron and steel including machinery and railway plant, motor cars and motor cycles. In the export trade there was a remarkable expansion in the shipment of all staple articles such as raw and manufactured cotton, hides and skins, raw jute, oilseeds, lac and tea. But in making comparison with previous years, the question of price has to be taken seriously into account. An analysis of available statistics shows that while the 1919-1920 figures record under imports an increase of £25 millions in the total turnover as compared with the pre-war year 1913-1914, the volume of trade actually declined by £82 millions. In the case of exports of Indian merchandise there was an increase in the recorded value of £65 millions; but higher prices accounted for an increase of £111 millions, which was partly set-off by a decrease of £47 millions in the volume of trade. In other words the volume of imports decreased by 45 per cent. and of exports by 19 per cent. while the average prices of imports rose by 105 per cent. and of exports by 56 per cent.

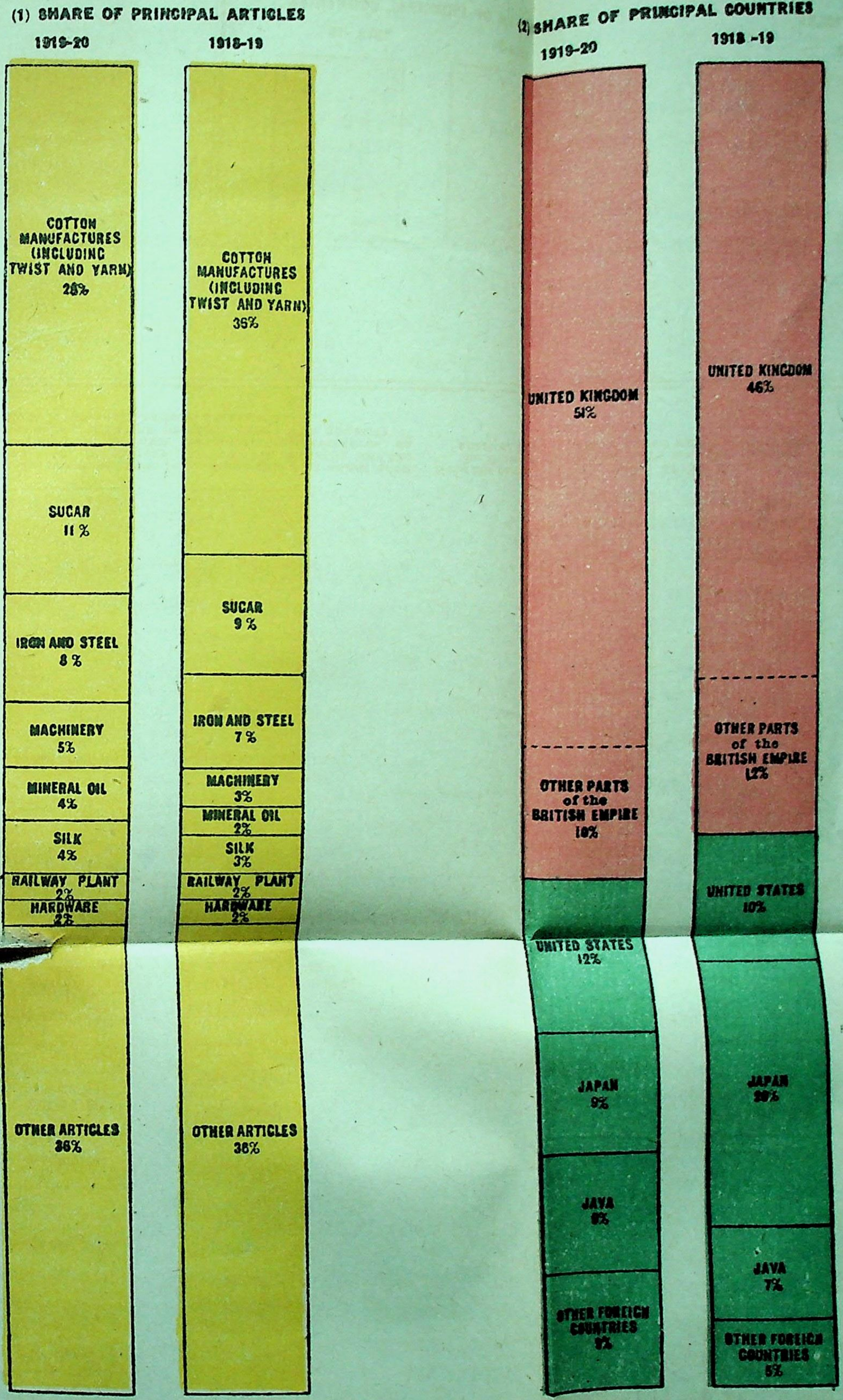
Imports.

Turning first to a consideration of the leading features of the import trade during the financial year 1919-1920, we are struck by the fact that in *cotton manufactures*, which held pride of place, there was a remarkable shrinkage in the quantity of imported twist and yarn, the total being the lowest recorded since 1866-1867. The value of the total imports of cotton manufactures, including twist and yarn was £59 millions in 1919-1920 as against £61 millions in the preceding year and £66 millions in the pre-war year. These imports amounted to 28 per cent. of the value of the total import trade of 1919-1920, as against 36 per cent. both in 1918-1919 and in the pre-war year. The quantity of cotton twist and yarn imported, was as noticed above, exceptionally low; amounting only to 15 million lbs. as against 38 million lbs. in the preceding year.

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SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE IMPORT TRADE IN 1919-20, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1918-19.

IMPORTS



Note the increase in the percentage share of sugar, iron and steel, machinery, mineral oil, and silk, and the decrease in the case of cotton manufactures, as compared with the previous year. The quantity of sugar imported, however, decreased.

Note the increase in the share of the British Empire, the United States and Java and the decrease in the share of Japan, as compared with the previous year.

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In cotton piece goods, which constitute the most important item of India's import trade, there was a considerable decrease of 70 million yards in the quantities of grey and coloured goods, which was only partly off-set by an increase of 35 million yards in white goods. It is interesting however to notice that the United Kingdom increased her share in the three important classes of piece goods at the expense of Japan, her figure standing at 87, 97, and 90 per cent. as against 64 per cent., 96 per cent. and 89 per cent. in the preceding year. The Japanese figures on the other hand for grey, white and coloured goods respectively stood at 12, 0·9 and 5 per cent. as against 35, 4 and 9 per cent. in the preceding year. Further in the aggregate import trade of piece goods, the percentage shares of the principal exporting countries were: United Kingdom 89·8 as against 77·3 last year; Japan 7 per cent. as against 21·2 in the preceding period; the United States of America 0·8 as against 1 per cent. in 1918-1919.

Cotton goods.

Next in value to cotton manufactures in India's import trade came *sugar*. The main feature to be noticed during the period 1919-1920 was a decrease of 19 per cent. in the quantity imported, accompanied by an increase in value of 42 per cent. Over 85 per cent. or 368,800 tons came from Java. It may be noticed in passing that India herself now produces about one-fourth of the world's cane sugar, and her estimated production of raw sugar in 1919-1920 indicated an increase of more than half a million tons over the 2·4 million tons produced in 1918-1919.

Sugar.

Third in the order of importance in the trade of India came *iron and steel*. The total quantity imported in the year 1919-1920 amounted to 0·43 million tons as against 0·18 million tons in 1918-1919. This represented an increase in quantity of 135 per cent. but on account of the lower level of prices, the value of the imports showed an increase of only 31 per cent. The most noticeable features of the trade were a large increase in the imports of sheets and plates, of beams, pillars, girders and bridge work, and a decrease in nails, rivets, washers, screws and wire. As might be expected from the condition of affairs described in last year's Report, there was a remarkable increase in the imports of railway plant and rolling stock. Carriages and waggons imported on private and Government account show an increase of £5·5 millions over the 1918-1919 figures of £1·2 millions. Locomotive engines and tenders were also

Iron and steel.

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imported to the value of £0·9 millions as against £0·5 millions in the previous period.

There was an unparallelled increase in the imports of *mineral oil* from abroad in the year 1919-1920. The quantity imported amounted to no less than 144 million gallons, as against 60 million gallons in the preceding year. Over 94 million gallons of kerosene oil were imported as against only 13 million gallons in 1918-1919 and 69 million gallons in 1913-14. Forty-eight per cent. of the imports came from the United States, thirty per cent. from Borneo, and sixteen per cent. from Persia. The quantity of fuel oil imported from Persia 20 million gallons.

Mineral oil.

There was an increase in the imports of *raw silk*, which rose from 1·4 million lbs. in the preceding year to 2·3 million lbs. in the year under review. This was due to larger imports from both China and Hongkong, which supplied 97 per cent. of the total quantity as against 87 per cent. in the preceding year. The value of imported silk manufactures including yarn increased by 60 per cent. to £5·9 millions. The increase was almost entirely in silk piece goods, which represented 88 per cent. of the total imports of silk manufactures. Japan, China and Hongkong were as in previous years, the principal sources of supply.

Silk.

Imports of *hardware* increased in value by 36 per cent. over the preceding year; the most interesting features being an increase in the supplies of domestic hardware, enamelled ironware and metal lamps, and the recovery by the United Kingdom of her share in the trade as against that of Japan. In 1919-1920 the United Kingdom was responsible for 47 per cent. of the imported hardware as against 36 per cent. in the preceding period, this increase being accomplished at the expense of Japan, whose share decreased from 29 per cent. to 17 per cent. the share of the United States remaining practically stationary at 30 per cent. There was a small increase in the import of agricultural implements; enamelled ironware increased in value from £0·18 millions to £0·29 millions. The number of imported metal lamps more than doubled, rising from 800,000 to 1·6 millions. There was also a notable recovery in the trade in motor cars and motor cycles, as indicated by the importation of more than 9,000 motors as against 400 in the previous year. Of these only 4 per cent. came from the United Kingdom, the United States being credited with 94 per cent. of the total. This latter figure is perhaps misleading owing to the fact that many of the cars imported from the United States

Hardware.

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are manufactured in Canada, and pass through the United States in bond for shipment from New York.

Minor imports.

Turning to minor imports it is noteworthy that there was an increase of 24 per cent. in the value of drugs and medicines imported, and of 27 per cent. in the quantity of imported liquors. Provisions showed a remarkable increase of 50 per cent. in value, amounting during the year under review to £2·9 millions. The United Kingdom and the Straits Settlements increased their share in the total trade as against Australia. It may also be mentioned that there was an increase in the quantities of paper and pasteboard imported, accompanied however, by a decrease in value of 14 per cent. to £2·3 millions. The United Kingdom increased her share of the trade from 20 per cent. in 1918-1919 to 37 per cent. in 1919-1920. The share of the United States showed a small increase from 22 per cent. to 25 per cent., while that of Norway declined from 22 per cent. to 12 per cent., and of Japan from 25 per cent. to 11 per cent.

Exports.

Turning now to India's exports we find that in this share also India's trade for 1919-1920 was the highest on record amounting to £309 millions, an increase of 29 per cent. over the preceding year, and of 27 per cent. over the pre-war year; but as has already been pointed out, the increase in value must be ascribed to a rise in prices. The principal articles of export in 1919-1920 in order of importance were: first, cotton, raw and manufactured; second, jute, raw and manufactured; third, hides and skins; fourth, seeds; fifth, tea; sixth, grain, pulse and flour; and seventh, lac. Food-grains which during the past 30 years have held the lead on no fewer than six occasions sank to the sixth place in importance in the year under review.

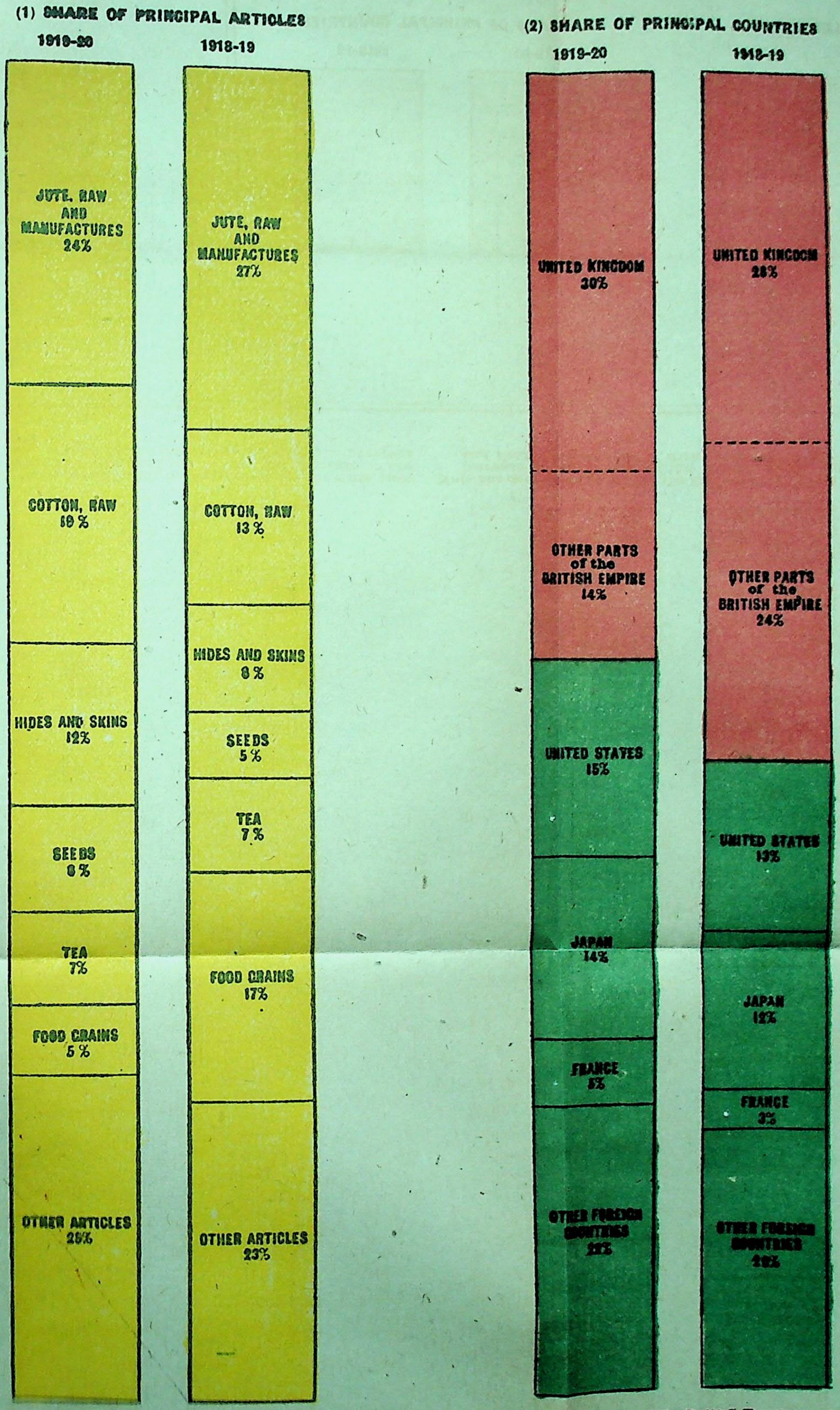
Cotton.

The total value of exported *cotton* during the period 1919-1920 was £87 millions of which raw cotton accounted for £59 millions, manufactured cotton for £27 millions, kapok and waste £1 million. This is the highest figure recorded, representing 28 per cent. of the total value of Indian exports and showing an increase of no less than £42 millions over the preceding year. The main feature of the year's trade was an increase in the manufacture as well as the export of cotton twist and yarn and piece goods. As compared with the pre-war year, the production of piece goods showed an increase of 475 million yards or 41 per cent., the exports increasing by 107 million yards or 120 per cent. On the other hand exports of twist and yarn showed a decrease of 23 per cent. Indian-

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SHARE OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AND COUNTRIES IN THE EXPORT TRADE IN 1919-20, AS COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 1918-19.

EXPORTS



[illegible] increase in the percentage share of cotton, raw, [illegible] and seeds, and the decrease in the [illegible] grains, as compared with the previous year.

Note the decreased share of the British Empire and the increase in the share of the United States, Japan and France, as compared with the previous year.

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made piece goods to the quantity of 196 million yards were exported as against 14·9 million yards in 1918-1919, and 99 million yards in the pre-war year 1913-1914. Large as this quantity may seem, however, it was only one-fifth of the imports from Lancashire, and only 12 per cent. of the total production of Indian mills. Grey goods increased by 43 per cent. and coloured goods by 28 per cent. while white goods decreased by 37 per cent. It should be borne in mind that Indian mills are not yet equipped for the manufacture of the superior class of goods now imported from the United Kingdom.

Jute.

Turning next to *jute* and jute manufactures, we find the principal features of the trade of 1919-1920, as compared with that of 1918-1919, were a considerable increase in the export of raw jute, which were valued at nearly £25 millions; and a decrease in the export of manufactured jute, which none the less amounted to £50 millions. The aggregate value exceeded the record figure of the preceding year by 14 per cent., and represented 24 per cent. of the total value of Indian merchandise exported, as against 27 per cent. in the pre-war year. The exports of raw jute were some 0·6 million tons, of which more than 52 per cent. was absorbed by the United Kingdom. The quantity shipped to that country amounted to 0·3 million tons, exceeding the previous year's exports by 39 per cent. and the pre-war year's shipments by 7 per cent. Next, though much behind, came France with 0·08 million tons, nearly double the quantity of 1918-1919. As has already been noticed, manufactured jute decreased in quantity by 4 per cent., the total amount shipped being nearly 0·7 million tons. It may be mentioned that manufactured jute ranked second in importance only to raw cotton in the export trade of India. The number of bags exported (343 million) decreased by no less than 41 per cent., but the weight of these exports showed a decrease of only 19 per cent. which is accounted for by the fact that the war bag, which was smaller and lighter than the ordinary commercial bag, has ceased to be exported. In gunny cloth there was an increase of 15 per cent. in the quantity exported, which amounted to the record figure of 1,275 million yards. Although it should be unnecessary for India to obtain jute fabrics from abroad there were imports of some of the finer kinds, mainly canvas and bags valued at £0·27 millions, as against £0·3 millions in 1918-1919.

Hides and skins.

The export of *raw and tanned hides, skins and leather* was valued at no less than £36 millions as against £19 millions in 1918. An increase in price was responsible

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for £8 millions of this ; but the period under review is noteworthy for a very large increase under raw hides and skins owing to the removal of the embargo ; an increase in tanned skins ; and a decrease in the quantity of tanned cow-hides. The United States took the lead in raw cow-hides with over 15,000 tons, the United Kingdom, which was India's next best customer taking 11,000 tons. Shipments to continental countries considerably increased. The exports of tanned skins rose to over 4,800 tons, the United Kingdom taking 3,600 tons as against 2,300 tons in the preceding year. The United States doubled her demands from 400 to 800 tons.

Seeds.

During the year under review there was a considerable increase in the exports of *oil seeds*. The total quantity shipped, 0·83 million tons being 69 per cent. above that of the preceding year. The value of these exports was £26 millions, an increase of 134 per cent. over 1918-19. Of this increase, no less than £10 millions was due to higher prices. The principal features of the year's trade were a remarkable increase in the exports of cotton seeds, groundnuts, rape seed, and sesamum, and a drop in castor seed. Of the total quantity exported, linseed accounted for 31 per cent. as against 60 per cent. in 1918-19 ; cotton seed for 30 per cent. against less than one-third per cent. ; rape seed 15 per cent. as against 16 per cent. ; and sesamum 6 per cent. as against 0·5 per cent. ; groundnuts 14 per cent. as against 4 per cent. and castor seed only 1 per cent. as against 17 per cent. The United Kingdom still accounted for two-thirds of the total trade, although she reduced her demand by 30 per cent. to 0·17 million tons. France took 0·04 million tons, which was more than six times the quantity shipped in 1918-19, while Belgium made her re-appearance in the Indian market as a purchaser of 0·03 million tons.

Tea.

Turning to *tea*, we find that 379 million lbs. were exported in 1919-20. This surpassed all previous records and left behind the older record figure of 1917-18 by 20 million lbs. Nearly nine-tenths of the total quantity was shipped from Bengal. The value of the total export was £20 millions, an increase of 16 per cent. over 1918-19, lower prices playing but a very small part in the alteration. The main features of the trade as compared with 1918-19 were an enormous increase of 54 million tons or 19 per cent. in shipments to United Kingdon, combined with a notable decrease in the exports to Persia and Mesopotamia ; and an appreciable increase in the shipments to North America. All restrictions on the export of

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tea to the United Kingdom were removed at the end of March 1919, and the total quantity sent to that country from India in the year under review was 337 million lbs. The direct shipments from India to Canada and the United States showed a satisfactory recovery from the low exports in the preceding year, amounting to 15 million lbs. as against 3 million lbs. in 1918-19. Owing to the cessation of hostilities and the consequent reduction in army requirements, exports to Mesopotamia fell to 4·6 million lbs. Persia took only 2 million lbs. or less than a quarter of her previous year's purchases, this decrease being ascribable to the stoppage of through traffic to Russia. Business with Australia was well maintained, exports amounting as in the previous year, roughly to 7 million lbs. New Zealand took 0·7 million lbs. or twice her share of 1918-19. The estimated outturn of tea in India during 1919 was 377 million lbs. as against 380 million lbs. in 1918.

Foodstuff.

As has already been pointed out exports of *grain, pulse and flour'* in 1919-20 were phenomenally low, amounting only to 0·88 million tons, valued at £15 millions, figures which have not been seen since the early seventies. It should be remembered that since November 1918, shipments of food grains have been restricted almost entirely to countries with a considerable Indian population accustomed to rely on India for their food supply. These restrictions were not relaxed in the year 1919-20, and the quantity of food grains exported was only one-fourth of the preceding year's exports, and one-fifth of the exports of the pre-war year. A notable feature of the year 1919-20 was a net import of food-grains into India (excluding Burma) of over 1·7 million tons, as contrasted with a usual net export in previous years. There were important decreases in rice, wheat, barley, maize, gram, and other pulses, while beans, rice-flour and wheat flour increased.

Smaller exports.

Among smaller items of the export trade mention may be made of the fact that all control over the exports of shellac was removed at the end of 1918, and there was in consequence an increase of 52 per cent. in the year's exports, which now amounted to 0·3 million cwts. The value of these exports in 1919-20, £6·9 millions, showed an increase of 145 per cent. on account of higher prices. There was a decrease in exports of raw wool; but a noticeable increase in the export of rugs and carpets valued at £0·6 millions, as against £0·15 millions in 1919, nearly seven-tenths of which were shipped to the United Kingdom. There was a considerable increase in the export of benzine, while shipment of castor cocoa-

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nut and linseed decreased. The exports of ores decreased by 10 per cent. to 0·4 million tons. Manganese ore figured foremost with 96 per cent. of the total, the United Kingdom taking 52 per cent. There was an increased demand for Indian hemp, for oil cakes and for coffee. France more than trebled her imports of the last commodity, and the United Kingdom and Greece also increased their demands. Of Indigo the United Kingdom took only one-fourth of last year's figure, the development of the synthetic colour industry producing a rapid falling off of her demands. Of Indian tobacco, 29 million lbs. of the unmanufactured commodity were exported as against 31 million lbs. which was more than 4 times the quantity shipped in the preceding year.

Direction of trade.

Turning now to the direction of trade in 1919-20 we find that the most satisfactory feature of the year is the strong recovery made by the United Kingdom. During the war-period, competitors had crept into the Indian market while her manufacturers were pre-occupied with more vitally important matters; but they have not been permitted to consolidate the position they won during the artificial conditions created by the war. Imports from the United Kingdom were valued at £105 millions, an increase of 36 per cent. over that of the preceding year. As hitherto the United Kingdom maintained her lead in the supply of cotton goods, machinery, iron and steel, copper, railway plant, liquors, woollen goods, tobacco, chemicals, drugs and medicines, hardware, stationery, paper and pasteboards, provision and umbrellas. But as compared with 1913-14, railway plant and rolling stock, iron and steel, liquors, provision, motor cars and certain other commodities showed noticeable decreases, while there were increases under dyeing and tanning materials. The exports to the United Kingdom were valued at nearly £97 millions as against £73 millions in 1918-19. More than three-fourths of the total value was accounted for by raw and manufactured jute. Next to jute during the year under review came tea, which rose to 337 million lbs., a record figure. Accompanying this increase in the percentage share of the United Kingdom, which ranged in imports from 46 to 57 per cent. and in exports from 28 to 30 per cent. there was a decrease in the share of other parts of the British Empire; this decrease amounting so far as imports were concerned to 10 per cent. There was thus a decrease in the share of the whole British Empire in the total trade of from 54 to 51 per cent. The United States held next to the United Kingdom the premier place in India's trade in 1919-20, the value of her imports being £25 millions, an increase of 56 per cent. over 1918-19, and no

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less than 428 per cent. over the pre-war year. Exports were valued at £49 millions as against £33 millions in the preceding year, and £22 millions in 1913-14. Under imports, there were notable increases in iron and steel, mineral oil, motor cars and machinery, which accounted for nearly two-thirds of the total trade. As in the previous year, 92 per cent. of the exports consisted of raw and manufactured jute, shellac, raw hides and skins. But one of the outstanding features of the year was the comparative collapse of the Japanese import trade and her consequent descent to third place among India's commercial customers. She has shown herself unable to withstand the pressure of unhampered British competition in cotton manufactures, and has lost almost all the ground which she had gained during the war. Her position is, however, still secure in glass and glassware, matches and silk manufactures, though European competition may revive in these articles. The value of the total trade between India and Japan increased by 5 per cent. as compared with 1918-19, but her share in the total Indian trade was only 12 per cent. as against nearly 15 per cent. in 1918-19.

Inland Trade.

Turning from the foreign trade of India to the Inland trade, we find that the total amount was valued at £1,258 millions as against £1,231 millions in the preceding period. There was a noticeable increase in the imports of raw cotton, raw jute and tea, from up-country into the ports on account of greater demands for shipments abroad, together with a corresponding decrease in wheat, rice, gram, pulses, linseed and rapeseed. The quantity of raw cotton brought into the ports increased from 2·5 million bales to 3·3 million bales; while tea imported into Calcutta increased by 9 per cent. to 278 million lbs. Of food-grains only 0·3 million tons were imported into the ports as against 0·9 million tons in 1918-19. As a general index to the movement of Inland trade in India during the period under review it may be mentioned that the railway earnings for the year ending the 31st March 1920 were £88 millions as against £86 millions in 1918-19.

Coasting Trade.

In the coasting trade of India there was a remarkable advance in the year 1919-20. The imports and exports coastwise of merchandise and treasure being valued at £217 millions, a record figure representing an increase of 38 per cent. over the previous year and of 81 per cent. over the pre-war year. The increase in the year under review was partly due to higher prices, but partly also to larger exports. The former consideration

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applied particularly to cotton twist and yarn and piece goods and the latter to rice and raw and manufactured cotton. The increase in the total value of the coastwise trade in merchandise was shared by all the maritime provinces. Bombay accounted for nearly 38 per cent. of the total, Burma for 25 per cent., Bengal 17 per cent., and Madras and Sind 10 per cent. each.

Trade position in the summer of 1920.

It will be realised that in the preceding paragraphs we have been dealing with India's trade during the financial year 1919-20, as a survey of the last nine months of 1919 is essential to a complete understanding of the trade boom which attained its heights during January, February and March 1920. From June 1919 both imports and exports increased steadily until the total trade of India (imports, exports and re-exports combined) reached the maxima of £56 millions in January 1920, £46¾ millions in February and £55½ millions in March. Thereafter imports, it is true, continued to increase, encouraged by high rates of exchange prevailing during the first half of 1920, and averaged over £31 millions during each of the last three months of the year. The increase was most marked in the case of motor cars, cotton yarns and piece goods, hardware, iron and steel and paper. Exports, on the other hand, decreased steadily from £30 million in March 1920 to £20¾ millions in June, £20½ million in September and £18½ million in December. This decline may be ascribed to a variety of causes. It represents a reaction from the heavy purchases of Indian produce and manufactures effected during the trade boom of 1919-20. Stocks accumulated seriously in the United Kingdom, the United States and other countries in a position to buy. World prices had begun to fall, and India experienced the fall no less than other producing countries whose goods had till then been in demand. Exchange began to weaken and freight rates to decline;

The slump.

both of which tendencies accentuated the slump; for it is well known that, in the severity of modern trade competition, merchants and manufacturers dare not buy in falling markets save for pressing and urgent requirements. Although to some extent the prices of the best qualities of Indian goods were not seriously affected, the average and inferior qualities, representing the bulk of her exports, failed to secure a market. Almost every line of India's export trade has been affected, but special mention should be made of tea, raw hides and skins, raw cotton, raw jute, and cotton twist and yarn. At the same time, the continent of Europe, which has been starved of raw materials and stands sadly in need of

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India's goods, found it difficult and indeed impossible during the year 1919-20 to arrange satisfactory credit facilities. These factors began to make themselves felt in the summer of 1920, and were further aggravated by a series of financial crises in Japan. A marked change in the trade position of that country, a curtailment of credit and serious domestic difficulties, resulted in the practical stoppage of her purchases of cotton, for which, as will have been noticed in preceding paragraphs, she was India's principal customer. In consequence of these factors every month from June onwards to December has witnessed the excess of imports over exports. Excluding treasure and including re-exports, the excess of imports in June amounted to £3 millions; in September to £7 millions; and in December to £11 millions. Taking the calendar year 1920 as a whole, the imports totalled £322¾ millions and the exports £291¾ millions. The above figures represent private merchandise only. Taking into account imports and exports of bullion, and credit transactions represented by Council Bills, Telegraphic Transfers, Sterling Bills and Rupee paper, the balance of trade, so far as it is visible, fell to £7½ millions in India's favour in 1920, as compared with £94¾ millions in 1919 and £57½ millions in 1918.

The close of 1920.

The close of the year 1920 thus found India bearing her share of a universal depression of trade. The exchange value of the rupee has fallen to 1*s.* 5½*d.* or just half of the maximum recorded earlier in the year. Importers have found themselves seriously placed in paying for goods ordered when exchange was high, and their difficulties are accentuated by the universal slump in prices and the falling off of local demand. Exporters have also been hardly hit. For, although a low rate of exchange naturally favours export trade, the existence of heavy stocks in foreign countries purchased at high prices checks any tendency towards a revival of orders. Although there is a talk of the organization of inter-national credits and of a trade agreement with Russia, Central Europe and Russia are still out of the market. In spite of these depressing factors, actual failures have been few and far between. Cotton and Jute mills as well as other less important industries, have been able to pay substantial dividends which have undoubtedly helped to carry the commercial public through a time of severe trial. Many foreign markets are known to be starved of goods, and India is not unlikely to be one of the first countries to benefit when credit is reorganised and the world's markets revive.

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Mention was made in last year's report of the steps which the Indian administration has been taking towards assisting India to become more economically self-sufficing. Reference to the notable Report of the Indian Industrial Commission will show that two years ago the country was still unable to produce more than a small fraction of the articles essential for the maintenance of ordinary civilised activities. Despite her wealth in raw material, India is poor in industrial achievements; and in several important branches of industry is compelled to buy back manufactured articles towards which she has already contributed the raw materials. In addition to this handicap, it is only quite recently that any steps have been taken towards encouraging the manufacture of such essential articles as nails, screws, steel springs, iron chains, wire ropes, steel plates, machine tools and the like. Hitherto the difficulty has been that without active support on the part of the administration, few Indian industries except those based upon some natural monopoly could hope to make headway against the organised competition of Western countries; and until the war served to change prevalent ideals as to the function of the State in relation to industry, there was a tendency to allow matters to follow their natural economic course. In justice to the Indian administration it must be stated that some time prior to the war, certain attempts to encourage Indian industries by means of pioneer factories and Government subsidies, were effectively discouraged from Whitehall. Fortunately experience gained in the war has effectually demonstrated the necessity of Government playing an active part in the industrial development of India. As was mentioned in last year's Report, the labours of the Industrial Commission led to the formulation of proposals for the organisation of a Central Department of Industries; and in the course of the period under review, an interim machinery has been erected to facilitate co-operation with the provincial Governments in the general work of industrial development. Conditions for the establishment of the necessary scientific services have been formulated; and a system for the local purchase of Government stores is being initiated. It may be mentioned that the local purchase of Government and railway stores is probably the most important among the immediate proposals made by the Industrial Commission. The principle that Government stores should be purchased wherever possible in India has long been accepted; but in the absence of any institution for the amalgamation of indents and for technical inspection during manufacture, it has been

Industries.

Central Department of Industries.

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difficult to go very far. Manufacturing industries could not, of course, be started without sufficient and continuous market, while orders could not be placed so long as there existed no adequate means of manufacture. In consequence, demands continued to be made on Great Britain for many articles and materials which might well have been manufactured in India if there had been any machinery for bringing Government buyers into effective touch with local manufacturers. At the beginning of the year under review, a Committee was appointed for scrutinizing Government indents with a view to their being executed in an increasing degree in India, to consider methods by which the purchase of stores can be shared by the central and local Governments, and to examine the possibility also of assisting Railway Companies and other public bodies to do the same thing. Pending the erection of the machinery contemplated by the Committee, a temporary establishment has been appointed to deal with this question. The Stores Department of the India Office has already been removed, and placed under the control of the newly appointed High Commissioner for India. The result of this will be that the purchase and inspection of stores both in India and in England will be directly under the control of the Government of India.

Industries in the Provinces.

As a result of the reorganization of the Indian administrative system by the new Reforms, the direction of industrial activities in the provinces will become one of the functions of the popular Ministers. The new Central Department of Industries, which was formally constituted in February 1921 to take the place of the existing Board of Industries and Munitions, will therefore exercise functions of a mainly advisory character. It will place its resources freely at the disposal of the provinces, and will assist them when required with technical advice in dealing with industrial schemes, in the development of industrial education, in the exploitation of extra provincial markets, in the collection and distribution of industrial intelligence and in the recruitment of staff.

Boot production.

The work of building up industries is naturally very slow, and as may be gathered from all that has been said, is at present in its initial stage. The organization of the contemplated Industrial and Chemical Services with their Research Institute, and the establishment of a combined School of Mines and Geology for high grade instruction of a kind unobtainable in India, are some of the projects which have been engaging the attention of the Central

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Government. But an idea of the hitherto imperfectly explored industrial potentialities of India may be gathered from the single example of boot production. Before the war, the hides and skins which India produces in such quantities were exported raw, while at the same time India bought largely of boots and shoes manufactured abroad. Efforts are now being made to introduce modern boot-making machinery such as is used by practically all large-scale manufacturers in Western countries. In one factory alone a modern plant capable of making nearly half a million pairs of military boots per annum has been installed; while in another factory, machinery capable of turning out annually 600,000 pairs of boots and shoes for the civilian trade has recently commenced work. The total potential output of boots and shoes from the factories now being organized and equipped, will aggregate 2½ million pairs a year. Investigations which are being made into the leather industry have shown that great economic loss is caused to the country by careless and faulty flaying of hides and skins. The importation of special flaying knives from Ireland has led to the manufacture of similar knives (on a large scale) in India, the economic value of which consists in the fact that the better the flaying the higher the price which a given hide will fetch. But it is interesting to note, as an example of the difficulty of immediately applying modern industrial ideas to India, that the leather industry encounters a considerable degree of opposition, partly politically inspired, based upon the widespread abhorrence of the Hindu population for the slaughter of cows. There is little doubt, none the less, that a great future lies before the tanning industry. Before Western methods of tanning can be successfully introduced into India, which is one of the largest hides and skins producing countries in the world, careful investigation must be made into those processes which are affected by climatic conditions. Elaborate investigations are being conducted by the Calcutta Research Tannery into the production and improvement of tanning materials, the analysis of leather and the suitability of water in various parts of India for tanning processes.

A notable feature of the industrial progress of the country during the year under review has been the building up of strong provincial organizations under provincial Directors of Industries. In April 1920 a Conference of these officers was held at Simla. This was in the nature of an experiment, the intention being to ascertain whether, by informal discussion and the interchange of views between the Imperial and the Provincial Departments of

Conferences.

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industries, ideas could be gained, difficulties cleared away and some measure of co-ordination secured in the activities of the different organizations. The subjects covered a wide range, among those discussed being the question of marketing village-industry products outside India, the provision of financial and other forms of assistance for new industries, pioneer and demonstration factories, the standardization of machinery and plant with a view to its manufacture in India, technical and industrial education and apprenticeship schemes. The experiment proved most successful. A second conference was held in November 1920 and the meetings will probably be repeated at regular intervals as need arises.

Central Provinces.

Throughout the year 1920 there has been much activity in the direction of instituting and improving machinery for the organization of local industries. Developments along these lines have been hindered in certain parts of India by the conditions of scarcity which have prevailed. In the Central Provinces, for example, which affords an excellent field for tanning and allied industries, a tanning school would by now have been in course of construction but for economic stress. None the less here as elsewhere, very useful work has been accomplished. The Department of Industries has provided industrial education through an increasing number of schools of handicrafts, and through its staff of experts has afforded technical knowledge and advice to industrial concerns. The efforts of the Textile Expert have benefited cottage handloom weavers to the extent of over £170,000 in the last few years, by the increased earning resulting from the introduction of the fly-shuttle. In provinces more industrially advanced, the progress of industries is naturally attended with fewer difficulties.

Bombay.

The Department of Industries in Bombay is particularly concerned with the branches of industrial work for which training in commercial shops is not possible ; and colleges have been designed to cater for young men who desire to take up work in connection with chemical industries, electrical work, tanning, textile work, dyeing and the like. Admirable facilities already exist at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in Bombay, and to a lesser extent at Ahmedabad and in other big towns ; but before long expansion in this direction will be required. Industrial workshops which were started in 1914 for the purpose of repairing machinery for Government use, having arrived at a high state of efficiency, are now receiving persistent demands from boys and young men for admission as apprentices. Every facility is given to the limited number who can be taken to learn one or

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other branches of practical engineering, and the work promises to become increasingly important in the near future. Considerable assistance has been afforded by the chemical staff of the Department of Industries during the year under review to manufacturers, as an example of which mention may be made of the help given to oil mills in the vicinity of Ahmedabad in analysing their production in order that it may be marketed according to quality. Investigations regarding the manufacture of casein by the department have now satisfactorily advanced, and a small demonstration factory was opened in Gujrat at the close of the year. The manufacture of manganese chloride of good quality on a commercial scale is now well established and the production of Epsom salts from the Kharagoda bitterns is being investigated.

Madras.

In Madras, there has been a great popular awakening of interest in industrial development, reflected during the period under review in a considerable number of new company flotations. The work of the Department of Industries has thus attracted a good deal of attention, and its investigations into the possibility of launching new industries are closely watched. Among its other activities may be mentioned the collection of those aromatic gums and oleo resins which are available in commercial quantities in the Madras forests, with the object of securing the establishment of the manufacture of drugs and essential oils in Southern India. Research into glue has been continued and the construction of an experimental factory was begun. Successful experiments in fruit preservation have also been undertaken, and proposals are under consideration for the opening of a factory for the establishment of this industry on the Nilgiris, and thence developing systematized fruit culture. A laboratory for minor industries has been opened at Coonoor to investigate the possible manufacture of inks, adhesives and vinegar. Together with the experimental works designed to facilitate the growth of new industries, the Department endeavours to secure the improvement of those which already exist. With the object of introducing improved methods and machinery to the handloom weavers, peripatetic weaving parties have been started, of which six have actually begun work.

Bengal.

In Bengal, although the Department of Industries has only been constituted upon a regular footing for a short time, some advance has already been made in industrial research, in the encouragement of small industries, in local demonstration of improved machinery and processes and in the collection of information. In addition to a Director and Deputy Director, the staff of the Department includes five Circle

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Officers and an Industrial Intelligence Officer who is concerned with the study of labour problems. An Advisory Board of business men has been appointed to assist the Director in dealing with large questions of industrial development. The work of the Calcutta Research Tannery, to which reference has already been made, represents the most important piece of research hitherto attempted. In the sphere of smaller industries the attention of the Department has been turned to handloom weaving, and improvements have been made in the fly shuttle slay, fly shuttle loom and the pit loom. As a result of demonstrations to the weavers of Bengal these improvements have in many places been taken up enthusiastically. So far as technical and industrial education are concerned, the principal feature of the year has been the appointment of a committee consisting chiefly of the proprietors of large engineering workshops near and around Calcutta, under the presidency of Sir Rajendra Nath Mukerjee, to consider the question of the establishment of a fully equipped technical school. The main details of the scheme having already been worked out, and the site for the school chosen, it is hoped that the institution will be opened early in 1922.

United Provinces.

In the United Provinces, the attention of the Department of Industries has been directed towards the improvement of the glass industry which at present is flourishing, but will soon have to contend with a strong foreign competition already beginning to assert itself. Government is obtaining the services of an expert to advise upon the installation of modern machinery and the improvement of the processes of manufacture ; and much is hoped in the future from the line of work. We may also refer to the improvement of the weaving industry, which during the year received a strong stimulus from the falling off in imports. The efforts of the Central Weaving Institute at Benares and other weaving schools have already begun to popularise the fly-shuttle loom. The organization of depôts on a co-operative basis for the supply of yarn for manufacture should help to stabilise this industry, but special efforts will be required if it is to maintain its position. In industrial education, the technical schools continue to be popular. From some of them, indeed, it is reported that the demand for craftsmen is so great that many pupils leave in response to offers of employment before their course is completed. The new schools which have recently been established such as the Carpentry School at Allahabad and the Leather Working School at Cawnpore are doing well, and expansion will be possible in the near future.

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In the Punjab, the year under review witnessed for the first time the constitution of a separate Department of Industries. Considerable popular interest has been excited in the Government dyeing school at Lahore, which is now beginning to attract the interest of capitalists who either own or intend to establish weaving factories. The school has helped dyers and factory owners by the supply of alizarine, and by expert advice in dyeing yarn and leather with fast colours. There is also a central weaving school which gives instruction in weaving and in the use of hosiery machines and has a Zenana class for women.

Punjab.

From this brief summary it will be apparent that the year 1920 has witnessed the institution of machinery, which, in time to come, may lead to the industrial regeneration of India. As we have seen, this all-important branch of national development is henceforth to be under Indian control, and the share of the central Government will be confined to the provision of advice, assistance and expert personnel.

For many years to come, the prosperity of India seems destined to rest upon agriculture rather than upon industries. Three persons out of every four in India gain their livelihood directly from the soil. Hence it is that the improvement of that livelihood constitutes the readiest way of regenerating the economic life of India.

Agriculture.

The world's progress is affecting agriculture equally with other occupations, and unless the agriculturist can be equipped with the knowledge as well as the capital, for developing the resources at his disposal, it is difficult to see how he will in future support his share of the economic burden from which no nation on the road of self-government can escape. Moreover, the economic upheaval resulting from the war has thrust agriculture into the foreground, and has intensified the demand in India, as in the rest of the world, for higher production. During recent years, an extraordinary change has taken place in the position which the Department of Agriculture occupies relative to the agricultural population. In many places, the cultivator has already learnt to look on the agricultural expert as a friend and a guide, and his old attitude of suspicion towards new methods is beginning to be substantially modified. When the successes of such methods can be quickly and plainly demonstrated, they spread with remarkable rapidity. The fact is that the conservatism of the agricultural classes is in many ways breaking down before the economic influence of high prices. The return received by the farmer for his food grains, oil-seeds, cotton and other fibres has been of late so large that he

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is awakening to the fact that he is not extracting from his land all that it is capable of producing. In Southern India, in particular, the willingness of the agriculturist to learn how to improve the quantity and quality of his crops is being hailed by those in a position to form a sound judgment of the matter as the dawn of an era of intensive cultivation.

Future prospects.

If only the central and provincial Departments of Agriculture can be expanded proportionately to the magnitude of the task before them, the future prosperity of India may be regarded as assured. Great areas of land, at present either wholly unutilised or insufficiently exploited, lie ready to yield, after the application of labour, manure, and water, tons of valuable crops. Hitherto, unfortunately, it has not been found possible to expend upon scientific agriculture that amount of money which India's necessities really require. The headquarters of the Imperial Department of Agriculture at Pusa, are maintained at a cost of only £60,000 ; while the total expenditure of all the Provincial Departments amounted in 1919-20 to the comparatively small sum of £700,000.

Work accomplished.

In the course of last year's Report, attention was directed to the difficulties which the Agricultural Department was compelled to face owing to a depleted superior staff, increasing demands and limited resources. During the war, there was a serious interruption to all investigations on Government farms, which led to a concentration of effort upon the task of popularizing the work of previous years. The outward effects of this are already to be observed in the great expansion of the area under improved varieties of crops, and in the extended use of the simple agricultural implements introduced at Government farms before the war. As will be seen, the areas under improved varieties of crops are already enormous in the aggregate, though the result of but a few years' work. But they are trifling compared with what can be and will be done in the future, when plant-breeding and disease-prevention bear full fruit ; when special varieties of crops are fitted into the conditions best suited to them. As was mentioned in last year's Report, the extensive success of the plant-breeding operations in India has undoubtedly led to a neglect of adequate provision for the complete study of the relations between soil and crops. This problem is of immediate practical importance, since the heavy-yielding varieties now in great demand as a result of the activities of the Agricultural Department, will in time tend to exhaust the productive power of the soil. Hence the experts of the Department, concurrently with their work in improving

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and introducing these varieties, must further trace the factors which determine soil fertility, in order that the improved crops may not impose too heavy a strain upon the land. Already this problem is being faced.

Rice.

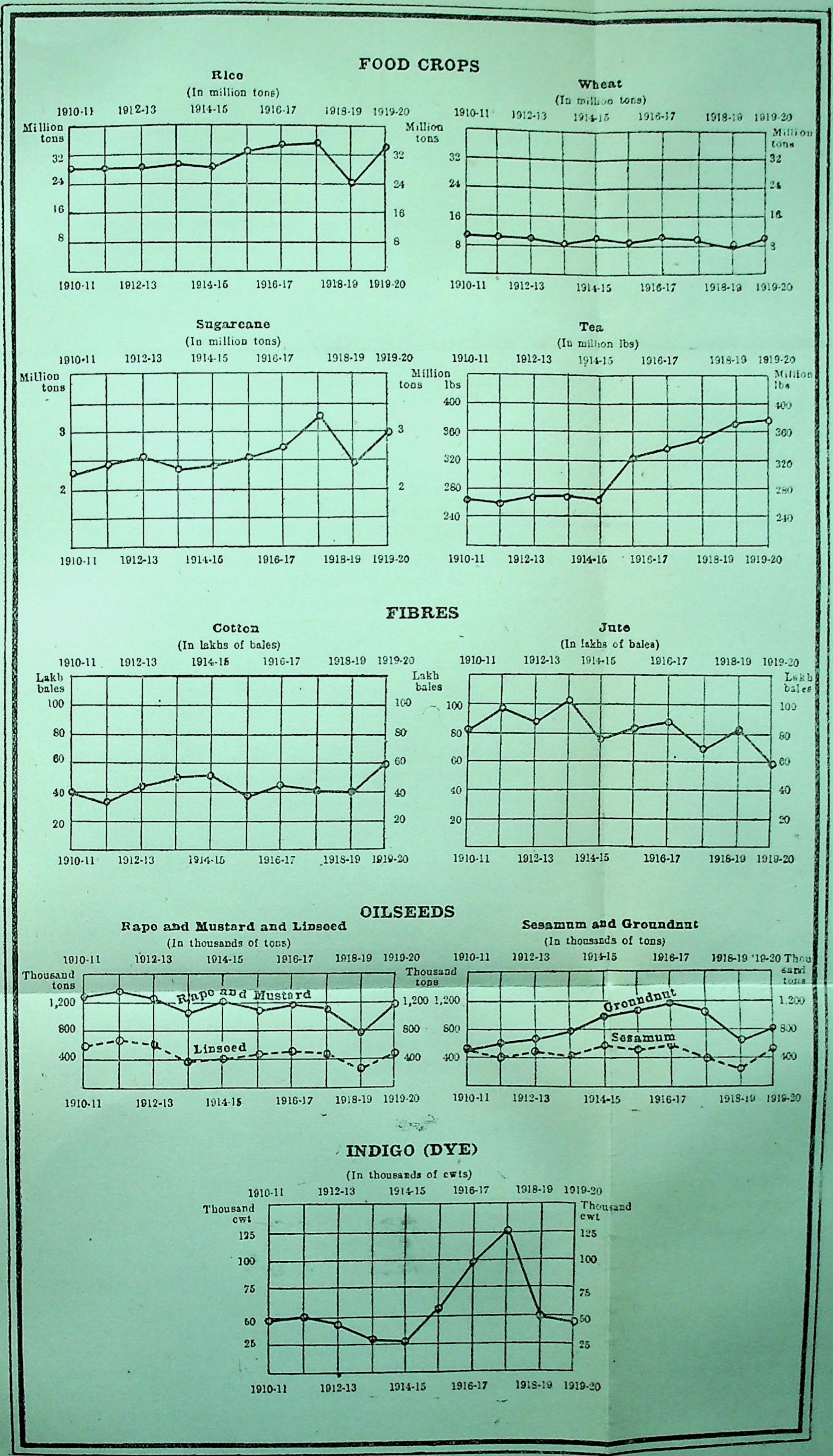
A brief note of the work accomplished by the Agricultural Department in dealing with particular crops will provide an answer to those ill-informed criticisms as to its utility which are now growing rarer. Taking first of all *rice*, which of all the grain crops in India is first in importance, an examination of the general position shows that the total estimated area in 1919 was 78 million acres as against the revised figure of 77 million acres for the preceding year. The estimated yield per acre was 977 lbs. or 273 lbs. more than that of the previous year and 59 lbs. above the last decennial average. In Bengal, where the crop covers more than 20 million acres, much progress has been achieved by the Department towards its improvement. Here as elsewhere the demand for the improved seed supplied by the Department far outruns the supply. This is intelligible when it is observed that one of the Departmental strains which has been planted in the Madras Presidency yielded no less than 3,771 lbs. per acre, representing a net profit of nearly £23 per acre for the crop. Some of the Departmental selections of Burma rice yield per acre from 8 to 10 baskets of 51 lbs. each, more than the best local varieties. The popularity of these improved strains in Burma may be judged from the fact that the area under them rose to some 60,000 acres in three districts alone. If the rice crop can be improved throughout, it will enhance the prosperity of a larger proportion of the people of India than can be effected by the improvement of any other single crop, for it occupies a larger area and is used as a staple food by a greater percentage of the population of the country than any other.

Wheat.

Next to rice in importance in the list of Indian crops stands *wheat*. The area under cultivation rose from 23·8 million acres in 1918-19 to nearly 30 million acres in the year under review. The production was 34 per cent. higher than in 1918-19, the outturn per acre showing an increase of 47 lbs. and 58 lbs. as compared respectively with that of the previous year and the average of the previous ten years. As was pointed out in last year's Report, Indian wheat is, as a rule, of a low quality and does not fetch good prices in the world's market. The work of the Agricultural Department upon this crop consists first in the evolution and distribution of strains which possess superior yielding power, better quality of grain, improved strength of straw and greater resistance

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Yield of certain principal crops from 1910-11 to 1919-20



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to rust; and secondly in demonstrating the response of the crop to better cultivation. Under a system of Government advances, over 1,000 tons of improved wheats evolved by the Agricultural Department at Pusa were distributed in the United Provinces alone. This figure, impressive though it is, affords no indication of the extent to which these wheats have spread throughout this one locality, for they are now to be found in every district. In the Canal Colonies of the Punjab, the estimated sowings of one particular variety amounted to 377,000 acres during the year under review, as against 300,000 acres and 196,000 acres in the preceding two years. The rapid advance which has been made by the improved varieties of wheat is explained by the fact that the crops are worth to the cultivator anything from 10*s.* to 20*s.* more per acre than the local varieties.

Sugar.

Among the food crops next in importance mention must be made of *sugar cane*, upon the improvement of which the Department has expended much labour. During the year under review the estimated area under this crop was over $2\frac{1}{2}$ million acres and the estimated yield just under 3 million tons, being 27 per cent. above the figure for 1918-19. The scope for the extension of the Indian sugar industry may be gathered from the fact that before the war India was importing 900,000 tons of sugar annually. During the year 1919-20, this figure had fallen to just over 400,000 tons; but in spite of high prices, the indigenous industry has so far failed to respond by an increased area under the crop. The realization by Government that there was some inherent obstacle to its extension led to the appointment of a committee of investigation. It may be pointed out that India has a larger area under sugarcane than any other country in the world, in fact, she has nearly half the world's acreage; none the less her normal output is but one-fourth of the world's cane sugar supply. That the commercial prospects before Indian sugar are very considerable is indicated by the appearance of a large commercial concern entitled the Indian Sugar Corporation with a capital of £5 millions. In order to assist private enterprise a Sugar Bureau has been established at Pusa with the object of furnishing advice to cultivators, manufacturers and capitalists. The mass of valuable information regarding the Industry which has been collected by the Bureau is now much sought after. It will be seen that this situation lends special interest to the experimental work of the Agricultural Department on sugar cane. The cane breeding station at Coimbatore in the Madras Presidency, whence the improved varieties of seedling canes are evolved, now supplies new

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and improved varieties throughout the sugarcane area of India. In Bihar, as a result of the efforts of the Agricultural Department combined with the high world price of sugar, the area of the crops is showing a considerable increase. The results obtained for selected strains of cane show that an average yield of 6,800 lbs. of raw sugar per acre is possible as compared with a normal yield of 4,000 lbs. There are substantial indications that the older strains are losing favour with the cultivators, and are being replaced by the new varieties, but in many places it would seem that the question of improved cultivation is of greater importance than the introduction of new breeds; for crude sugar manufactured on improved lines fetches from 6*s*. to 10*s*. more for every 500 lbs. than the produce resulting from older processes.

Cotton.

Turning now to textile crops it will be observed that *cotton* occupies by far the largest area in India. During the year under review, this area increased from 21 million acres to 23 million acres, the acreage outturn rising to 101 lbs. from 76 lbs. The quantity of raw-cotton exported during the year 1919-20 was 0·43 million tons, or more than double that of the preceding year. Work upon the cotton crop follows the traditional lines, namely, plant breeding and agricultural improvement. But in the case of cotton, considerations regarding the quality of the final product naturally operate in an overmastering degree. The success of a selected variety often turns upon the possibility of obtaining a sufficient premium for the improved quality. In the Punjab, for example, acclimatised American types give a yield approximate to that of the country varieties, the balance being turned in their favour by a small premium for quality. In the Central Provinces on the other hand, owing to less favourable conditions, the margin between short and long stapled cotton has not yet sufficiently widened to balance the difference in yield of ginned cotton, which is in general much higher in the case of the short-staple country varieties. Bombay heads the list of cotton growing provinces, and in the year under review one selection produced by the Agricultural Department and sowed over an area of 6,000 acres fetched a premium of from £2 to £7 per candy (784 lbs.) above the ordinary price of Surat cotton. Over one million lbs. of this seed have been distributed for sowing during the current season, an amount which will suffice for the seeding of roughly ten times the previous acreage, and will produce correspondingly increased profits for the cultivators. Some idea of the general extent of the operations of the Agricultural Department in supplying seed, may be gathered from the fact that in the Central Pro-

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vinces, the second in the list of the cotton growing provinces in India, over three million lbs., sufficient for 300,000 acres, were distributed in the Western Circle alone during the year under review. In the Punjab, the American cotton crop which is composed mainly of the selected type known as 4 F., is reckoned to have reached an area of 0·525 million acres. This variety is worth to the cultivator at least £1 per acre from the local kinds, and the increase in the cultivator's profits represented by the rapid spread of this selection amounts well over half a million sterling. As was remarked in last year's Report, an immense field lies open to the extension of long-staple cotton throughout India, as well as to the improvement of existing methods of ginning and marketing. In certain parts of the country a hard fight has had to be conducted against the low grade short-staple country cotton, but the result has been that the inferior crop, once a real obstacle to improvement, is now practically extinct in the main cotton growing areas.

Jute.

The world's supply of the jute fibre is obtained almost entirely from North Eastern India. The area under jute rose from 2·5 million acres in 1918 to 2·8 million acres in 1919, the total yield representing an increased outturn per acre of 82 lbs. Here the work of the Agricultural Department has mainly consisted in the isolation of superior yielding strains from the common mixtures found in the field. One of the chief difficulties lies in seed production, which is usually not profitable in Bengal since the cultivators find that it pays better to cut the crop for fibre. But owing to the increased profits to be obtained from sugar cultivation, the jute seed crop has met with a serious rival in Bihar, and there has been a marked falling-off in the area sown in that province. A new field for seed-growing seems to be opening in Madras, where over three tons of good quality seed of a particular strain were produced last year. The question of the multiplication of the new strains is however still unsolved. The Agricultural Department has undertaken investigations of the manure requirements of jute, which have demonstrated that the presence of sufficient potash and lime in the soil is of vital importance. Money expended on lime, bone and potash manure practically triples the net revenue per acre, and in so doing yields a return of approximately cent. per cent. per annum.

Indigo.

Like jute, *indigo* is a crop the production of which has been much stimulated by the war; but since the rehabilitation of the aniline industry, it has tended once more to fall off. As was mentioned in last year's report the area

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under indigo then fell to 296,000 acres, which was 58 per cent. less than that of the year 1917-18. In the year under review, there was a further fall to 234,000 acres, the estimated total yield of dye being reduced from 44,000 cwt. to 37,000 cwt. The work of the Agricultural Department upon this crop has been directed towards increasing the quantity of indican contained in the plant. Endeavours are being made to bring the crop back to a type which will thrive on the soil conditions of Bihar, giving good yields of both seed and leaf. It may be mentioned that during the year under review, an organisation entitled the Indian Indigo Co-operative Association has been established in Calcutta by some of those concerned in the indigo industry of Bengal and Bihar, in order to promote by co-operative methods the sale of indigo and to assist further research and propaganda.

Tobacco.

In striking contrast to the somewhat gloomy prospects of the indigo industry are those which seem to await the *tobacco* industry of India. In the calendar year 1920, tobacco to the value of £3·2 million was imported into India. A very large proportion of this can unquestionably be supplied by crops grown in the country, which are quite suitable both for cigarettes and for pipe tobacco. The improved seed which has been evolved at Pusa is meeting with a ready demand on the part of the cultivators, and cannot at present be supplied in sufficiently large quantities. But in order to secure for the Indian tobacco industry that opening which lies before it, further instruction in the fomentation and curing processes must be given to the cultivators.

Oil Seeds.

India is one of the largest of the world's sources for the supply of *oil seeds* and the output of the raw product has recently fallen far short of the world's demand. The prevailing high prices are acting as an incentive to increased production of various kinds of oil seeds; and in the year 1919-20 the area under these crops rose from 11·9 million acres in 1918-19 to 14·8 million acres, the total quantity exported being 0·83 million tons, valued at £26 millions. The work of the Department upon this crop consists in selecting the best varieties and introducing them into districts for which they are found suitable. In Bihar and Orissa selected varieties of ground-nuts have been successfully introduced on sandy land in the Gaya district, where the average yield of the area treated with ashes has amounted to 1,804 lbs. as against exactly half that yield per acre from untreated areas. In Madras where the coconut crop is of great importance, extensive study has been made of the coconut palm, which

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is expected to throw light on the causes of the great variations between yields of different trees grown under apparently identical conditions. It appears that the possibilities of the coconut as a sugar producer demand careful investigation.

Rubber, Coffee, Tea.

During the year under review, valuable work has been done in rubber, coffee and tea. A number of experiments directed to the study of manurial systems are being conducted on south Indian estates, as well as investigations into the diseases of the plants. In coffee, good work has been done in Coorg, with hybrids produced by the Agricultural Department, seeds of which are now on the market and in great demand. In a few years' time, it is confidently expected, these new types will produce a marked improvement on the yields of estates. The prospects before the tea industry are at the moment gloomy, owing to the fact that prices have fallen until the producer's margin of profit has in many cases disappeared. As a result doubtless of the record export of tea during 1919-20, which stood at 379 million lbs., the home market is glutted; and until the disorganization of international trade caused by the war has been remedied, the condition of the industry does not appear hopeful. The Indian Tea Association has accordingly decided to restrict production. Work upon the crops by the Department of Agriculture continues. In Southern India there is a special Deputy Director of Agriculture for planting districts, who gives special attention to tea. The root diseases of tea are found to be of primary importance and much work has been done upon them during the year. The use of green dressings on tea estates, and of covering crops to prevent soil erosion, are also matters to which the attention of the Department of Agriculture has been directed.

Fruit.

There is a very general opinion that India, with her varying altitudes and climates, ought to occupy a more prominent position as a fruit growing country than she does at present. The workers hitherto employed have been too few and too scattered to permit of any considerable advance, but their results have revealed the great possibilities of improvement in Indian fruit through careful selection of trees and proper tillage of the soil. In several provinces, earnest endeavours are now being made to popularise the better varieties of fruit and to introduce improved methods of cultivation, packing and the like. But a more thorough investigation of the economics of fruit growing must be undertaken before satisfactory advance is possible; and the possibility of establishing a system of co-operative marketing such as that employed by the fruit-growers in

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California is to be tested. Considering that the fruit-growing industry pays even under the present conditions, there is little doubt that a prosperous future awaits it. Further, it can employ, and is indeed attracting, a certain number of the educated classes who do not take kindly to other species of farming. The Agricultural Department has successfully introduced several new varieties of plums, pears and lemons to the Indian market; and 35,000 budded fruit trees, hardly any of which is less than five feet high, are now ready for distribution.

Fodder Crops.

Among the most important branches of work is that which is concerned with fodder crops and grasses. Considering that the bullock is still the principal motive power for cultivation and that the proportion of head of bovine cattle to head of population is just short of one to two, the provision of adequate fodder is a matter of very considerable moment. Throughout the greater part of India, crops grown purely for fodder are an exception, the cultivator depending mainly on the straw of his growing crops for his cattle, supplementing this by a certain amount of stubble grazing. Except indirectly through increasing straw yields, the Agricultural Department has been able to do little in the direction of improving purely fodder crops, though the problems connected with fodder raising and storing have received attention. The importance of utilising available resources of fodder against the demands of lean years has of late come into prominence; and work of great value has been performed by the Agricultural Department in demonstrating the advantages of new fodder crops. Mention was made in last year's Report of the excellent results which have been achieved in producing silage, from which, after four or five months, 65 per cent. of the original green weight can be taken out. An an example of the practical utility of Departmental investigation of the fodder problem, mention may be made of the discovery of methods of preparing from cactus a most useful adjunct to the fodder crops. In the United Provinces, also, a troublesome weed known as *baisurai*, which seriously affects the yield of unirrigated crops on account of its deep roots, has been successfully utilised as fodder when cut and dried in the sun. It has been estimated that in 4 districts of the United Provinces over 100,000 tons of this weed can be cut annually, which with the present price of fodder represents a clear gain of not less than £150,000.

Soil surveys.

Among the chemical work of the Agricultural Department, mention must be made of the continued study of the soils of various parts of India. In Bengal and

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in Madras considerable progress has been made with soil surveys, which afford useful guides as to the type of manure which will give the best results. In the Central Provinces also much attention has been paid to methods which will enable the soil to recover from the calls upon it which high yielding varieties of crops impose.

Pests.

As was mentioned in last year's Report a study of pests, both vegetable and animal, is a matter of great importance to India, since diseases caused by parasites are numerous and destructive. The extent of the damage done annually to rice, sugarcane and cotton, by insect pests is very serious. Continuous attention has been devoted by the Agricultural Department to remedial matters, but shortage of staff has, as in other branches of its activities, continued to retard progress. A large amount of useful observations relating to the life-history and behaviour of insect pests has been accumulated, and the working out of scientific methods for their control has been further advanced. One great difficulty with which the Department is faced is the patient apathy of the cultivator, who believes in the majority of instances that pests and blights are manifestations of the wrath of heaven, against which it is impiety to protest. Energetic propaganda must be undertaken before people can be persuaded that these visitations can be controlled, and that the damage caused annually to crops can be minimised at the cost of a little intelligence. Attention has also been devoted to the question of storing grain in such manner as to protect it from damage and the depredations of insects and rats—a problem which is of the most pressing importance to India. Experiments would seem to show that the average rat consumes about 6 lbs. of grain in a year; and as the total rat population of India is estimated at about eight hundred millions, the loss caused to the country by these animals must be something near £15 millions per annum.

Demonstration.

It is obvious that to a very large extent the utility of the work of the Agricultural Department depends upon the extent to which a knowledge of improved materials and improved processes can be diffused among the population of India. Since the large majority of Indian cultivators are wholly or partly illiterate, the methods of conveying information which are in vogue throughout more advanced countries, such as leaflets, circulars and lectures, cannot be relied upon to produce the desired effect. Wherever possible ocular demonstrations are resorted to; and for this purpose Government seed and demonstration farms, implement depôts, and the like, are employed. But the most convenient means

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of assuring the agriculturists that suggested improvement can be carried out by himself, is the employment of small plots is his own field for demonstration purposes. The whole question of demonstration therefore really resolves itself into the provision of an adequate and properly trained staff organised upon lines dictated by experience. The success which is being achieved may be gathered not merely from the extent to which improved seed is being adopted in various parts of India, but also by gifts, which are now growing more frequent, of free sites for demonstration farms, the value of which is now more and more appreciated both by individuals and by public bodies.

Engineering.

Up to the present, the Indian cultivator probably owes more to the artisan and to the engineer than to any other agency. It must be remembered that indigenous cultivation in India is still entirely dependent upon the village smith who fashions the plough and the water lift ; while it is the efforts of engineers which have produced the splendid system of canal irrigation which now exists. The need for further improvements in cultivation had found its expression of recent years in the Engineering sections attached to the provincial Agricultural Departments, which carry further the work of the village artisan and of the canal engineer, by improving implements and tapping sub-soil sources of water. Here again shortage of staff has continued to militate against striking progress, and only in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces and the Punjab, are there permanent appointments of Agricultural Engineers.

Well boring.

In Bombay and the United Provinces the work in the boring branch has increased rapidly, the former province, during the year under review having 127 successful bores to the credit of the Department. There is a very large demand for improving sub-soil water supplies ; and extensive sources of underground water have already been located in places subject to scarcity. There is also a growing demand for machinery of all kinds, such as engines, pumps, threshers, tractors and the like. In certain parts of India, notably the United Provinces, the demand for power-mills is marked. Some idea of the profits which await the enterprising owners of such mills may be gathered from an example supplied by the Agricultural Engineer of the Gorakhpur District in the United Provinces. Last year he erected a crushing mill and an oil engine for a small landholder, sufficient to crush a ton of sugarcane an hour ; after one season's work which dealt with £10,000 worth of produce, the landlord desired the erection of a mill three times the size. The total

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cost of the plant, engine and mill was only £500 and the profits cannot have been far short of £3,000 for the season's work.

Motor tractors.

The need for supplementing the cattle-power of the country has been felt for some time back, and has begun to strike those cultivators who have grasped the significance of improved tillage in the scheme of general agricultural improvement. Such crops as sugarcane depend on a more extensive tillage just as much as on increased supplies of manure and water. Accordingly during the period under review, agricultural motor tractors have been introduced in considerable numbers, and the experience of the year would seem to show that the field for their use is greater than was previously supposed. But in a tropical climate, the high pressure at which the engine is called upon to work leads to rapid deterioration of the wearing parts, and the bill for lubrication is bound to be heavy. It is however believed that as soon as defects have been remedied through experience of local conditions, there will be a great future before the motor tractor in India.

Cattle breeding.

For some time, however, agriculture in India will depend very largely upon cattle breeding. The last cattle census of 1919-20 shows that there are 146 million head of bovine cattle, that is oxen and buffaloes, in British India. Although this represents an apparent increase of 2 per cent. over the estimate arrived at five years previously, there has been a heavy decrease in the cattle population in western and north-western India, which suffered from a severe fodder famine in the year 1918-19. Epidemics of diseases and fodder famines are no doubt the two main causes of the decrease; but the fact remains that many cultivating districts have failed to make up the deficiency. This can only be attributed to the lesser profits which are to be derived from cattle-raising as compared with crop-growing; and until the price of draught cattle rises to the cost of production in the arable areas, things can hardly be expected to adjust themselves. A very important method of checking further decreases is therefore the cheapening of the cost of production of cattle in crop areas—a matter which is closely connected with the poor milk yield of the average cow. Hence the problem of supplementing the cattle population of India rests largely upon the improvement of cattle from the dairy point of view; and the efforts of the Veterinary Department to improve the working cattle are now being supplemented by the Agricultural Department in breeding higher milk-yielding cows. The

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milk side of the question has received a considerable impetus from the appointment of an Imperial Officer to take charge of dairying; and the co-operation of the Military Department, whereby the surplus male stocks of the military dairy farms have been put at the disposal of the Agricultural Department, will undoubtedly lead to a large increase in the number of milk pedigree animals in the country. A further difficulty is to prevent the mortality of cattle from such diseases as rinderpest. A large increase, during the year under review, in the number of cases up and down India treated in hospitals and dispensaries by officers of the Civil Veterinary Department, seems to show that the confidence of the agricultural population is being won. But it is idle to expect real progress in combating diseases with a comparatively small band of workers among a cattle population of 146 millions. The annual loss that the Indian cultivator suffers from preventable diseases is enormous; and in many cases the apathy of cattle owners or their neglect to conform to the rules framed for the prevention of diseases is very largely responsible. From time to time the authorities have been compelled to close cattle fairs to which contagious diseases were found to be imported; but in many instances the people again held unauthorised gatherings of cattle, with the result that the diseases could not be kept under control.

Veterinary work.

Among the most important pre-requisites to the development of improved agriculture in India must be placed the adequacy of the Irrigation system.

Irrigation.

In the tropics cultivation can be, and in many cases is, effected by natural rainfall only, but there are many parts in which the artificial watering of some portion at least of the crops is essential. Every season the rainfall in some parts of India is insufficient to mature the crops; while in other parts of India the rainfall, which in a normal year may be sufficient, is liable to uneven distribution throughout the season, or to such serious deficiency as to render the tract concerned famine-stricken in the absence of artificial protection. The Indian Irrigation Commission, which sat from 1901 to 1903, recorded that between the area in which the annual rainfall is invariably sufficient, and that in which it is so scanty that no agriculture at all is possible without an irrigation system, there lies a tract of nearly a million square miles which, in the absence of irrigation, cannot be deemed secure against the uncertainty of the seasons and the scourge of famine.

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There are various methods by which irrigation is accomplished in India. A very large area is irrigated by the cultivators themselves without assistance from Government, by the use of such means as wells, tanks, and temporary obstructions to divert water from streams on to the fields. Almost every known system of raising water from wells is found in India, ranging from the primitive plan of hand-lifting to the modern device of power pumping, which, thanks to the efforts of Government agricultural Engineers, is gradually growing more common. Government irrigation works comprise both tanks and canals, the former being mainly small works which derive their importance from their vast numbers. For example, in Madras alone there are nearly 30,000 such tanks, irrigating between 2½ and 3 million acres. Turning now to canals, we may notice that they are divided into two classes; those drawing their supplies from perennial rivers and those which depend upon water stored in artificial reservoirs. The former are mainly found in connection with rivers which rise in the Himalayas, the snow upon which acts as an inexhaustible reservoir during the dry months of the year; the latter are naturally associated with rivers rising in the peninsula proper, where no such natural storage is available. These storage works are situated mainly in the Deccan, the Central Provinces and in Bundelkhand, ranging in size from earthen embankments to enormous dams such as those now under construction in the Deccan, capable of impounding over 20,000 million cubic feet of water. Canals which draw their supplies from perennial rivers may again be sub-divided into perennial and inundation canals. The former are provided with headworks which enable water to be drawn from the river irrrespective of its natural level; some obstruction being placed in the bed of the river that the water may reach the height required to secure admission to the canal. Within this class fall the great perennial systems of the Punjab and the United Provinces. Inundation canals have no such means of control, and water can only be admitted to them when the natural level of the river reaches the necessary height. The most important inundation canals in India are those of Sind; indeed the whole of the irrigation of that province is of this nature. They also exist in the Punjab, drawing their supplies from the Indus and its tributaries.

Methods.

Government irrigation works are classified under three heads for the purpose of allotment of funds; namely, productive, protective and minor works. Before a work can be classified as productive there must be reason to believe

Classification of works.

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that the net revenue obtainable from it will suffice within ten years of completion to cover the annual interest on the capital invested. Protective works are those which, while in themselves not directly remunerative, are constructed to protect precarious tracts and to guard against the necessity for periodical expenditure upon famine relief. Minor works comprise those which are not classified as productive and protective, including the small tanks to which reference has already been made, and agricultural works undertaken for the general improvement of the country.

Irrigation in 1920.

During the year 1919-20, the total area irrigated by all classes of works in India, excluding the Indian States, amounted to the astonishing figure of 28 million acres which is more than 13 per cent. of the entire cropped area of 211 million acres. Three million acres greater than that of the previous year, this figure is the largest on record, being two million acres in excess of the earlier maximum figure of 1916-17. The increase was mainly due to the favourable nature of the monsoon of 1919, which caused a plentiful supply of water in the rivers. The total length of main and branch canals and distributaries from which this irrigation was effected, amounted to more than 66,000 miles. The estimated value of the crops irrigated by Government works amounted to £173·6 millions, or more than double the total capital expenditure on the works. Towards the area irrigated, the productive works contributed 18¾ million acres, the protective works 0·7 million acres, and the minor works 8½ million acres. The area irrigated by productive works was greatest in the Punjab, where a figure of over 8¾ million acres was recorded. Next came Madras Presidency with an area of nearly 3¾ million acres, followed by the United Provinces and Sind, where the area irrigated by productive works amounted to 3 million and 1⅓ million acres respectively. The total capital outlay to the end of the year 1919-20 on productive works, including works under construction, amounted to £58 millions. The gross revenue, amounted to £8·1 millions and the working expenses to £2·4 millions. The net return on the capital outlay was therefore over 9 per cent. The total capital outlay to the end of the year 1919-20 on protective works amounted to over £11 millions, of which a large proportion was incurred on works under construction which have not yet commenced to earn revenue.

Schemes.

In last year's Report reference was made to certain major irrigation schemes awaiting sanction or under investigation. Great progress has been made in

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these projects and several of them have either been sanctioned or submitted for sanction. The project for the Sarda Kichha Feeder in the United Provinces has been sanctioned; while projects for the Sarda Oudh Canal, for the Sukkur Barrage and canals in Sind, and for the Damodar Canal in Bengal have been forwarded to the Secretary of State for sanction. The project for the Kharung Tank, a protective work in the Central Provinces, was sanctioned during the year, together with two smaller schemes. It will be of interest to describe very briefly the scale and objects of these new works.

Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canals.

The Sarda Kichha Feeder is a part of the scheme for utilizing the water of the Sarda river for the irrigation of the province of Oudh. A weir will be built across the Sarda river near Tanakpur and a canal will run in a westerly direction across the Tarai, the main object of which is to supplement the supplies of the existing Rohilkhand Canals and to permit of their further extension southwards. The estimated cost of the feeder is £2 millions, and the canals will irrigate 345,000 acres and are expected to return 6·3 per cent. on the capital outlay. The Sarda Oudh canal will take off from the Sarda Kichha Feeder, and will run in a south-easterly direction carrying 8,000 cubic feet per second, and protecting the north-eastern districts of Oudh, now extremely liable to scarcity. The scheme will cost £7·5 millions, but will irrigate 1,368,000 acres. The combined Sarda Kichha and Sarda Canal systems entail the construction of no less than 4,200 miles of channel.

Sukkur Barrage.

The Sukkur Barrage and Canals project contemplates a barrage across the Indus at Sukkur with three canals on the right bank and one on the left bank. At present, whenever the Indus fails to rise high enough to render proper inundation possible, millions of acres go out of cultivation. The new canals will irrigate $5\frac{1}{3}$ million acres, and the whole scheme will cost £18·4 millions; but it has been calculated that the value of the crops lost in 1918-19 alone through drought would have sufficed to pay the cost of the whole project. The Damodar Canal in Bengal has been designed to secure an adequate supply of water to the existing Eden canal, and in addition to protect a considerable area in the Burdwan district now extremely liable to scarcity. The scheme will cost £0·7 million, and will irrigate an area of 196,000 acres. The Kharung Tank, in the Bilaspur district of the Central Provinces, will consist of a large storage reservoir with canals taking off on either side. It will cost £0·59 millions, will irrigate 97,000 acres and will protect some 200 villages.

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A very important project for the Sutlej Valley Canals, which is at present under consideration by the Government of India, will consist of three weirs on the Sutlej river and one on the Panjnad—as the Sutlej is called below its confluence with the river Chenab—from which twelve canals will take off. The existing inundation system of irrigation will be fully protected by this scheme, and given a controlled supply ; while new irrigation will be provided for enormous tracts, in the Punjab as well as in the States of Bahawalpur and Bikaner, which are at present desert waste. Some 3¾ million of acres of waste land will thus be brought under cultivation. The cost of this project will be shared between the British Government and the Indian States concerned, the share of the former being estimated at £5·4 millions. The scheme promises to be extremely remunerative, a return of more than 11 per cent. on the capital outlay being anticipated from water rates and enhanced revenue alone. This figure will rise to more than 31 per cent. if indirect credits such as interest on the sales of Crown waste land are included.

Sutlej Valley canals.

During the year under review a project has also been sanctioned by the Secretary of State for a new canal for navigation purposes which will increase the trade facilities of Calcutta. This Grand Trunk Canal, as it is called, is designed to connect Calcutta with the main river system of Eastern Bengal, and will consist of a locked length of 22½ miles, with an initial width of 250 feet and depth of 10 feet. By the more direct route which this canal will afford, the voyage from Calcutta to Khulna will be reduced from 261 miles to 140 miles, and that from Calcutta to Goalundo from 535 miles to 271 miles. The cost will be a little over £3 millions, and it is anticipated that some 2¾ million tons of merchandise will be transported by it annually.

Grand Trunk Canal.

The works of which mention has been made are those which have now reached their final project stage and will, it is hoped, be commenced in the very near future. They in no way exhaust the irrigation programme. In Madras there is a project under consideration for a reservoir on the Cauvery ; while three schemes of considerable magnitude are under examination in the Punjab. The Bhakra Dam project to improve and extend irrigation from the Sirhind Canal by means of water stored in the upper reaches of the Sutlej, will, if constructed comprise the highest dam in the world and a large connected canal system. Several protective works are also under consideration in the United Provinces For all these, definite

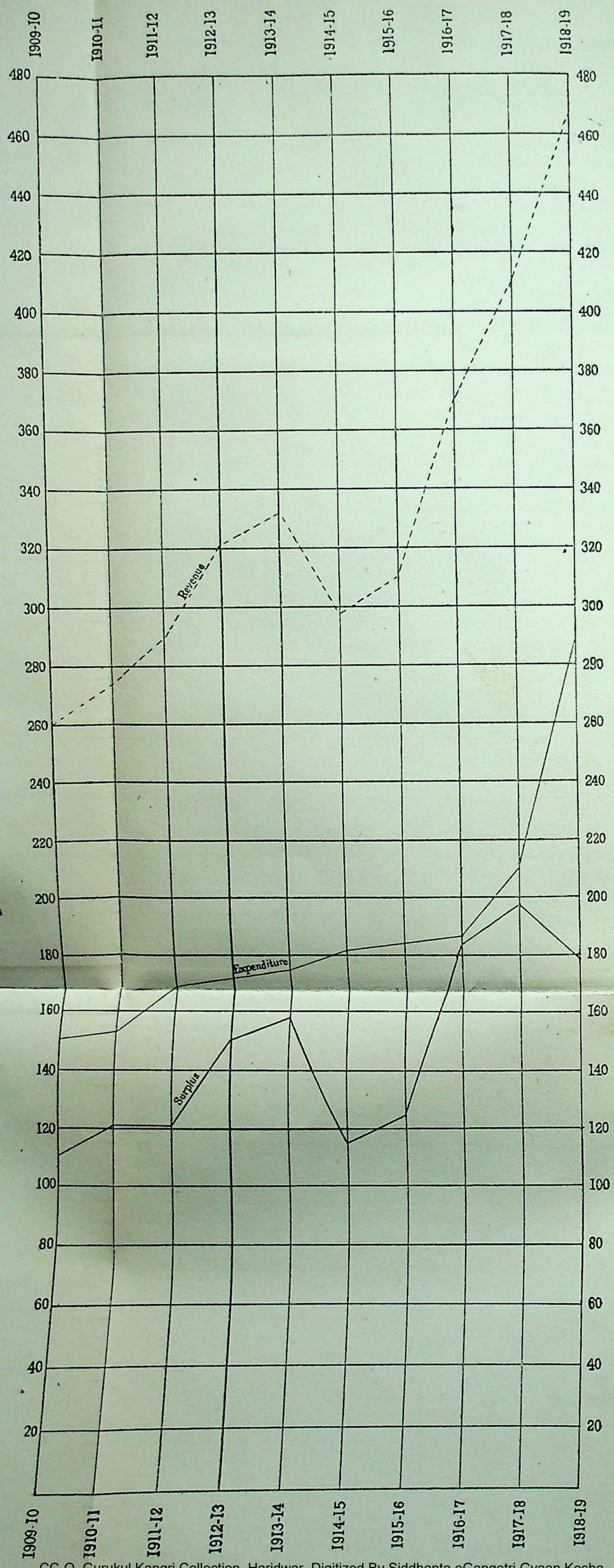
Future Programme.

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DIAGRAM SHOWING

ANNUAL FOREST REVENUE, EXPENDITURE & SURPLUS.

FOR THE 10 YEARS 1909-10 TO 1918-19.



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projects have been prepared ; there are in addition schemes under examination in other provinces which have not yet reached the project stage.

It will be apparent from these few pages that the Indian irrigation system is very highly developed. The country possesses other natural resources, however, the exploitation of which is still in a stage of comparative backwardness. Among these may be selected for special mention her forests and her fisheries.

Forests.

Already, despite shortage of staff and hampered development due to financial restrictions, Indian forests yield a considerable profit to the State. In the year 1919-20 the surplus of revenue over expenditure from the Indian forests amounted to £2·2 millions. It must be realised that the forest areas in India cover more than a quarter of a million square miles. So far only 60,670 square miles have been brought under regular scientific management prescribed by working plans.

Expansion.

The increased demand for timber and other forest products brought about by war conditions has undoubtedly greatly stimulated Forest development in the Indian Empire. Large schemes for the reorganization of staff have recently been sanctioned or are under contemplation, with a view to facilitating and expediting proper developments. Not only have circles and divisional charges to be sub-divided if forest development is to proceed upon an orderly plan, but it is also necessary to provide special posts for utilization and for research work, as well as to augment largely the staff of the Central Research Institute. One of the most important advances in the last five years is represented by the formulation of proposals for a regular Forest Engineering Service. This has resulted from the deputation to America and Canada of an officer of the Indian Forest Service, whose reports upon the methods of lumbering practised in these countries, as well as upon the forest wood-working industries to be found there, have provided useful help and guidance in solving some of the problems with which India is faced. The possibility of development is indicated by the fact that in 1918-19 the outturn of timber and firewood from all sources amounted to just under 344 million cubic feet, which represents only 2·1 cubic feet per acre of all classes of forests. For the reserved forests this figure works out to 3·3 cubic feet per acre, as against 3 cubic feet per acre five years previously. The fact that there has been an increase is satisfactory, but it remains to be noted that the present yield is far less

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than the forests of the country are capable of producing under more intensive systems of management, and by aid of more up-to-date methods of extraction, than exist at present.

Commercial Aspects.

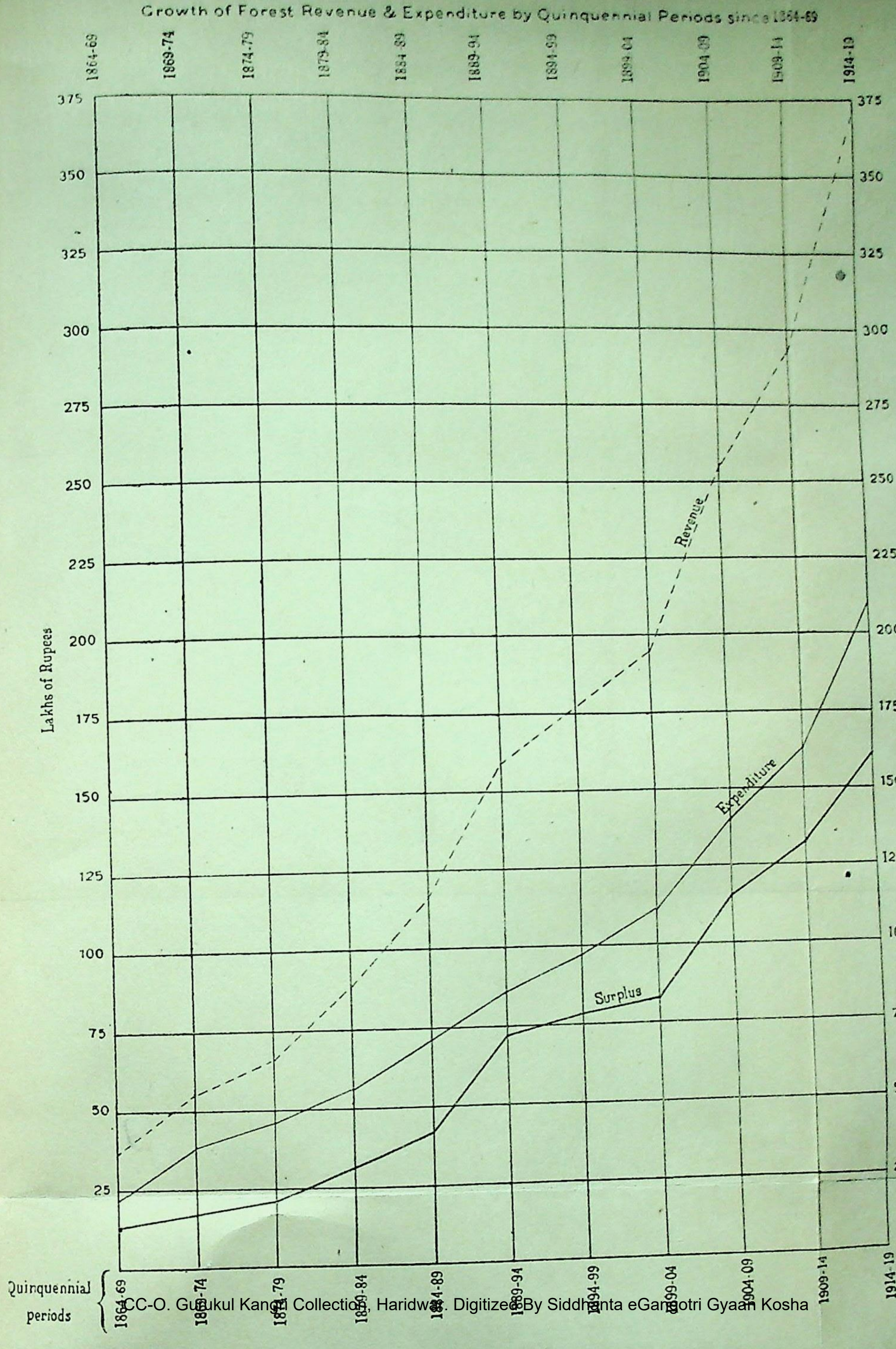
Considerable progress has already been made in establishing and consolidating definite relations with the commercial world. The possibilities of bamboos for paper and pulp are now firmly established, and the number of firms to whom grants or concessions have been made for this purpose has increased. The excellent prospects which lie open before the development of the paper industry in India may be gathered from the fact that the consumption of paper and paste-board in the country amounts to some 60,000 tons per annum, of which India herself supplies only a little over one half. A considerable part of the enormous forest areas of bamboos and savannah grass could no doubt be utilised for the manufacture of the paper and paste-board now imported. In the same way large private concerns are now undertaking the extraction of timber, the manufacture of ply wood and the like, on long term leases. Much is also hoped from the British Empire Timber Exhibition which was held in London in July 1920. Excellent arrangements were made for the display of a comprehensive exhibit from India by Messrs. Howard Brothers and Company, the Government of India's Agents for the sale of Indian timbers in Europe. The introduction to new markets of hitherto little-known Indian timbers, which was one result of the exhibition, cannot fail to be of advantage alike to the consumer in other parts of the world and to the development of India's Forests. There is already reason to believe that, as a consequence of this exhibition, the demand upon India for her woods will be considerably extended.

As will be seen from a study of the diagram on the opposite page, the profits derived from the working of the Indian forests during the last half century have increased over fourteen fold. With the increasing development of forest industries, there is every reason to hope that India's forests will be a great asset to her financial prosperity. Minor Forest industries are becoming of increasing importance. Large numbers

Forest Industries.

of indigenous species of timber previously considered of little or no importance have recently been exploited and utilized, and experiments have already been made as to wood suitable for ordnance work, for aeroplane construction, for cooperage and for bobbins. Among the most important of the minor forest industries, is the resin industry, located entirely at present in the United Provinces and the Punjab. The reduction in the direct imports

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of American turpentine during the year 1917-18 has given it an impetus, which, it is hoped, will have lasting results. A French manufacturing plant modified to suit Indian conditions has been installed at Jallo in the Punjab, and the new distillery at Clutterbuckganj in the United Provinces will, when completed, largely increase the total outturn. When extended, as it can be, and also fully developed, the Indian resin and turpentine industry will ultimately be in a position not only to meet the whole of the country's own requirements but in addition, those of the other Eastern countries. The profits from the resin industry in the United Provinces during the year 1919-20 amounted to £45,000. The industry is in a fair state of development, although still capable, of course, of considerable expansion.

Among the more interesting lines of work for the improvement of India's forest conditions, may be mentioned the steps which have been taken in the United Provinces for the afforestation of denuded ravine lands. In the course of the past six years, an area of over 3,000 acres of ravines has been converted into plantations, the results obtained showing that success can be assured at an average cost of about £5 per acre. The cost of afforestation is borne by Government and is recouped from the revenue received, the profits thereafter being paid to the owners of the soil. As a result of this policy, erosion is arrested, good crops of grass obtained, and tree growth is established.

Forest Research.

Side by side with the development of the means for commercial exploitation and the improvement of forest conditions, must go research into forest economics and the investigation of the problems of reproduction and protection of forest crops. The Indian Industrial Commission to whose Report a reference was made in "India in 1919" has laid stress upon the necessity for expert investigation into these and cognate problems upon a more extensive scale than has hitherto been possible. The Commission considered that the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun did not possess an equipment sufficient to meet the calls made upon it. Accordingly, a general scheme for the enlargement of the Forest Research Institute and of the scope of its activities has been sanctioned. The arrangements for expansion, to which effect is already being given, involve large increases in the research staff, and the construction of an entirely new and enlarged Institute, as well as residential accommodation upon a new site which has been acquired for the purpose. The staff of the Institute has already been augmented by the addition of specialists in wood technology, timber seasoning and testing, wood-working, pulp and paper-making, tan

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stuffs and destructive entomology. Up to-date machinery and plant is being obtained from America and Great Britain for installation in the new buildings. With the completion of this project the Government of India should possess as efficient an institution for forest research as is to be found in the world. The Institute will become increasingly important in future, as the necessity for developing Indian forests is more widely realised. Already it may be noted, arrangements have been made to initiate recruitment in India for the Imperial Forest Service, and this will ultimately entail the exercise by Indians of an ever-growing share in the direction of forest policy.

Indianisation.

Fisheries.

As was mentioned in last year's Report, India possesses in her fisheries considerable national wealth, to which attention has only lately been directed. The Report of the Indian Industrial Commission gave striking evidence of the future which awaits more active development in this sphere. In many parts of India the quantity of fish consumed in cities and towns within reasonable distance from the coast is considerable. In Bengal in particular, the importance of the fish trade is very great, since fish forms a staple food of a large proportion of the population. It was calculated that during the year 1918-19 more than eleven thousand tons of fish were transported from places of catchment to different parts of the province. To meet the steadily increasing demand, continuous and ruthless fishing is carried out in this locality throughout the year, while even spawn and fry are not spared. In consequence of this, the fisheries are getting very seriously depleted. The first necessity of the situation is the spread of sound ideas among the fishermen, who are at present of low caste, ignorant and uneducated. In addition to this, they have a meagre standard of comfort and are mercilessly exploited by middlemen whose exactions lessen the supply of fish and add greatly to its cost. Unless popular interest can be aroused in the subject in the near future, the damage, it is feared, will be irreparable. The Governments both of Bengal and of Bihar and Orissa are alive to the gravity of the situation, but the scale upon which the problem is presented makes rapid improvement difficult. During the year 1919-20 the Fisheries Department lost the whole of its superior staff owing to such causes as retirement and death. This state of affairs proved a severe handicap to the Department, the scientific research work of which suffered in consequence. The year, however, saw the introduction in three districts of the experiment of District Fishery Officers, which was foreshadowed in the last year's report. These officers were mainly employed in making

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a complete survey of fisheries and in the initiation of co-operative societies amongst the fishermen. Of four such societies established in Bengal and three in Bihar and Orissa, six were organised by the District Fishery Officers. The problem of breeding carp in confined waters is reported to be in progress of being solved, and the local Government has under consideration a scheme for the establishment of a centre for investigations in the culture of carp. During the year 880,500 selected fry were supplied to the public by the Department, including 100,000 supplied free of cost to fishermen in the district of Bankura during the famine. Some idea of the kind of work which can be accomplished by a well run Department of Fisheries may be gathered from the record of Madras. This Department has been in existence for nearly 15 years, and has proved a remarkable success. The Directorate staff includes a Director with three assistant Directors, one in charge of the marine section, who is mainly concerned with sea fisheries; another in charge of the inland section, who is dealing with the problems regarding fresh water fish, including the breeding and distribution of the larvicidal fish used in anti-malarial operations; and the third in charge of the coast section who deals with fish after it has landed, including the problems of fish cure, manufacture of fish-oil and guano and fish marketing. There is also a Marine Biologist who is concerned with the identification of the marine fauna and the supply of marine zoological specimens to educational institutions and museums. The scale of operations is indicated by the fact that during the year 1919-20 in the coast section alone, over 120,000 lbs. of fish were cured and sold, while 260 tons of sardine were treated, yielding 585 gallons of oil and more than 44 tons of guano. The number of private factories manufacturing guano increased by nearly 200 during the period under review, and 24,000 tons of guano were manufactured during the season. The value of the oil manufactured was nearly Rs. 3,75,000. The efforts of the administration are not confined to the encouragement of the fishing industry and the opening up of fresh channels of activity for those employed in it. Much work is also done to improve the standard of education and methods of living of the fishing community. Co-operative Societies have risen from 31 to 47 during the year under review, with a corresponding increase in membership. Taking into consideration the inexperience and illiteracy of the great majority of the members, the movement has spread in a most satisfactory manner. The educational scheme mentioned in last year's Report for providing specialised primary education to the fisher community is flourishing, and on the West coast at the end of the year

Madras.

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there were ten day and ten night schools maintained for the fishing community. In Bombay also a considerable future awaits the fishing industry, for the present supply of fresh fish is inadequate. Steps have been taken to secure an experimental trawler from England and if, as is hoped, it is found that suitable trawling beds exist, the industry will become one of considerable importance. The fishery section is shortly to be placed in charge of a Marine Biologist whose services have been obtained on loan from the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. Land has already been taken up by private enterprise for the organisation of fish oil factories, and there are good prospects of developing a profitable industry by the manufacture of oil and guano. In the Punjab the main problems confronting those responsible for the conservation of the fisheries include the imposition of necessary restrictions, and adequate propaganda to avoid the ill-informed hostility of local fishermen. Accordingly, a system of lectures and of personal propaganda among the classes most interested has now been introduced ; but great caution has to be exercised in the extension to new districts of licensing rules for the protection of breeding grounds. The system which is being introduced involves considerable benefit to the fishermen, of which perhaps the most important is the removal of the monopolist contractor ; and if only those engaged in the industry can be made to understand what the administration is driving at, there are always good prospects of securing their co-operation.

Bombay.

In the present chapter, we have briefly reviewed the course of India's economic life during the year 1920, and the progress which has been accomplished in the development of her natural resources. It now remains to describe the condition of what is perhaps the most indispensible of all requisites to her prosperity—her system of communications. Quite apart from the vast distances which have to be traversed, and the natural obstacles which have to be overcome, in passing from one region of the Indian sub-continent to another, the internal communications even of a restricted area frequently break down altogether in the rainy season. An instructive essay could be written to demonstrate the influence which communication-difficulties have exercised upon the history of India's political, as well as of her industrial, development; but it is sufficient here to say that the same rock upon which the Mughal Empire finally split still remains, despite the breaches made in it by railways, telegraphs, motor transport, and other expedients undreamed of in older days, as a formidable obstacle to

Communications.

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the progress of modern industry. Unceasing effort and expenditure upon a scale hitherto impossible will be necessary, if the communications of India, whether by road or by rail, are to be adequate to the requirements of the country. During the period under review, the utilization of mechanical transport in India for military and other purposes has increased steadily. Already this development has proved of some service in relieving the railway congestion; and with the increasing improvement of road communication, the system probably admits of almost indefinite extension in the near future. The pressing demands for mechanical transport on the frontier for military purposes have served to stimulate the development upon the civil side.

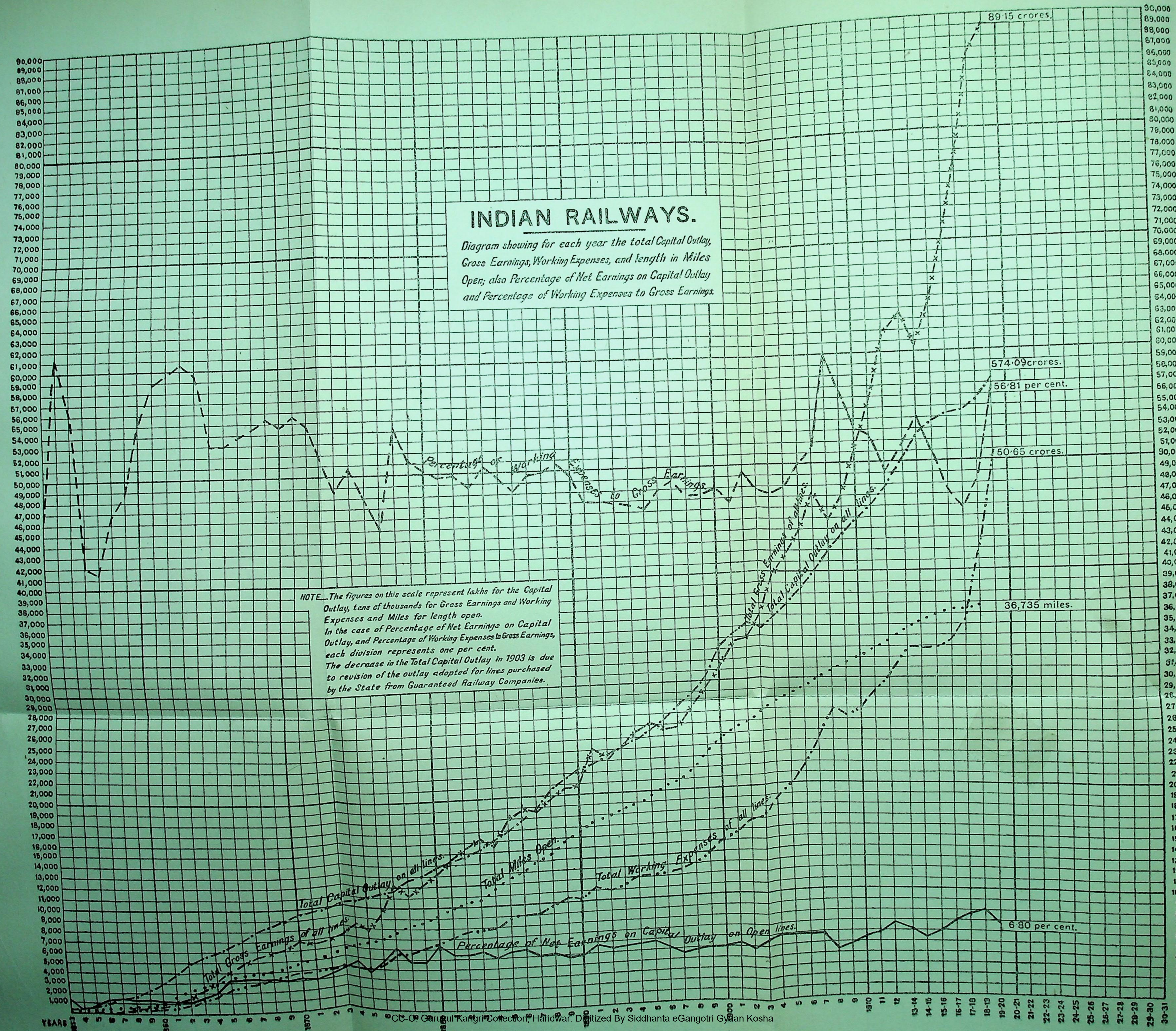
Roads.

But before mechanical transport can play any considerable part in the solution of the communication problem, a great development of India's roads must take place. At present the economic loss caused by the inaccessibility of many agricultural districts in the rainy season is very great; and this cannot be remedied until the system of trunk roads is extended. Steady progress is being made every year; witness the fact that the mileage of metalled roads maintained by public authorities increased from 54,000 in 1916 to 55,000 in 1917; and of unmetalled roads from 142,000 to 144,000. But the total mileage, which according to the latest figures available, was just under 200,000 in 1917, is quite inadequate to India's requirements. The matter has for long been receiving the attention of the authorities; and if only public interest can be aroused, rapid progress may result. A very useful step forward has been taken by the Government of the United Provinces, which has recently constituted a Provincial Board of Communications, upon which both official experts and non-official representatives of the general public serve. If this example is followed in other parts of India, a great impetus will be lent to the improvement of communications in general, and of road communications in particular.

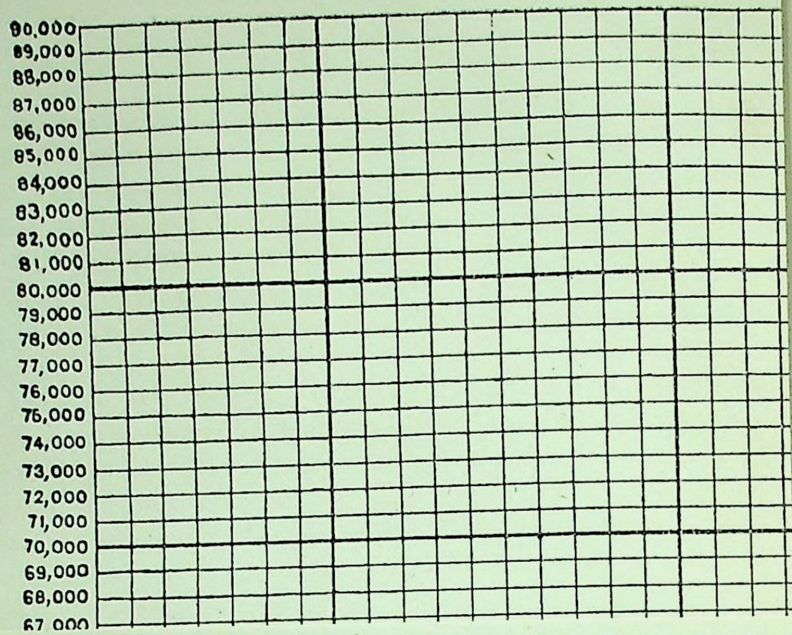
Indian Railways: Difficulties.

But of all means of communication in India, the most important is the railway system. In last year's Report, mention was made of the difficulties against which the railways have been struggling ever since the outbreak of the war. Their capacity has been seriously overtaxed to carry munitions and stores essential for the prosecution of hostilities, and in addition, their ability to handle the growing traffic of India has been increasingly impaired. Not only have locomotives, rolling-stock and railway material been supplied

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1919, but a portion of his duties was taken over by an officer called by the new designation of Coal Transportation Officer, Railway Board. During the remainder of the calendar year 1919, it was found necessary to continue the special indent system under which waggons were supplied to collieries on certificates issued by the Coal Transportation Officer, the order of allotment being in conformity with the list in which the various consumers were classified according to their relative national importance. By this means it was possible to effect economy in transportation; although the fact that the more important consumers generally limited their demands to the higher grade coal, caused considerable complaint on the part of the owners of collieries raising the poorer classes of coal. On the last day of the year 1919 the coal special indent system was withdrawn, the intention being that the pre-war system of waggon allotment should be re-introduced. Unfortunately the waggon supply in the coal fields continued in defect, with the result that it became necessary for the Coal Transportation Officer to grant certificates entitling holders to preferential treatment in the matter of waggon supply. This special supply system ensured regular supplies of coal to the more important consumers. Several attempts were made to relinquish it during the course of the period under review, but the poor waggon position of railways generally and the difficulty of effecting any considerable improvement therein, necessitated its continuance in the public interest.

Coal Transportation.

Some idea of the importance of the coal supply to the life of the country may be gauged from a study of the railway diagram on the opposite page. It will be seen that the total gross earnings of all Indian railways amounted to the record figure of £59·43 millions, while the net working profit from State railways alone, after meeting interest and other miscellaneous charges, amounted in the year 1919-20 to £6·96 millions. The falling off from the previous year in the net profit is due to increased working expenses, caused by a larger programme of special repairs and renewals, by enhanced scales of pay of all grades, and by increase in the train mileage run. A study of diagrams on the next page shows the number of passengers and the tonnage of goods carried on all Indian railways, together with the earnings therefrom. It may be mentioned that the increase in the passenger traffic during the year 1919-20, as compared with the previous period, is due to the general development of traffic consequent upon the relaxation of restrictions which followed the termination of the war. It will be noticed that there is a slight falling

Working of Indian Railways.

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off in the goods traffic as compared with the year 1918-19. This is largely accounted for by a reduction in the transport of military stores subsequent to the cessation of hostilities. There was also a smaller traffic in coal, edibles, grains and sugar, due partly to waggon shortage and partly to the restrictions upon the transit of the two first mentioned commodities, to which reference has been made in another place. Turning now to development, we notice that the programme for 1919-20 was designed to provide, as far as possible, for the deficiencies of existing open lines. New construction has, therefore, been almost wholly confined to the completion of lines in progress. The length of lines of all classes opened for traffic during the year under review was approximately 120 miles, bringing the total mileage of all railways open at the end of the year 1919-20 up to 36,735 miles.

Rolling stock.

During the year under review, considerable improvement took place in the condition of rolling stock. But it will take some time before the pre-war standard can be again attained. In the meantime, the improvement of rolling stock and repair facilities is being given a foremost place in the railway programme. In the grant of £21·98 millions which has been sanctioned for the financial year 1920-21, the sum of some £13 millions is to be devoted to rolling stock. During the year 1919-20, 364 additional engines were on order of which 43 were actually placed on the line. Of goods stock, more than 14,000 additional waggons were on order of which under 4,000 could be placed upon the line, the remainder being carried forward for delivery during the current year. Progress is being made in the standardization of broad and meter gauge rolling stock ; sample waggons to the standard designs already prepared are under erection for special examination from the manufacturer's point of view. Owing principally to labour difficulties in the United Kingdom, a considerable portion of the large orders for new rolling stock, which have been placed there since the conclusion of the armistice, has yet to be delivered.

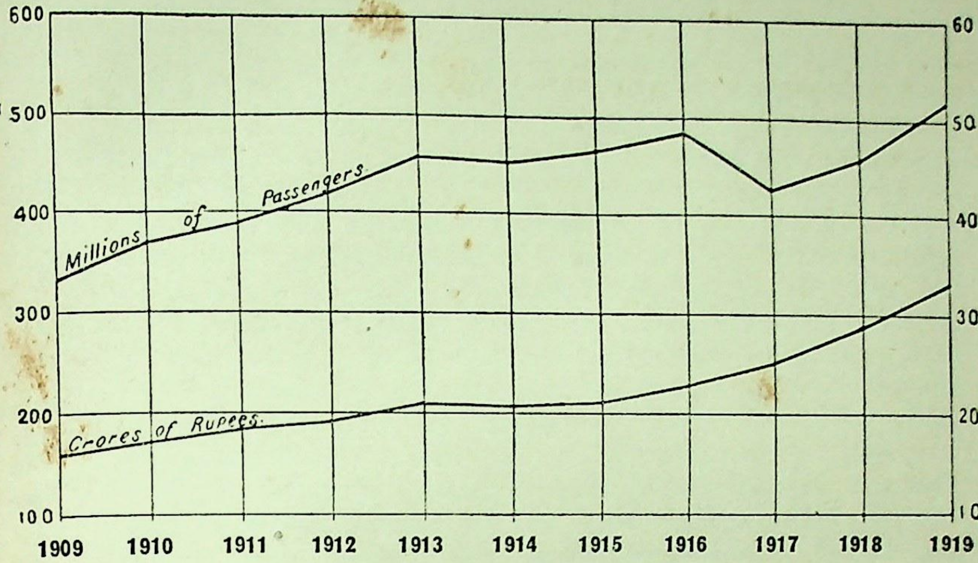
The Railway Committee.

In last year's Report, reference was made to the institution of an enquiry as to the desirability of modifying the present management of Indian State-owned railways. In consultation with the Secretary of State, it was decided that the scope of enquiry should embrace the consideration of the relative advantages, financial and administrative, of certain special forms of management, including direct State management ; management through a company domiciled in England and with a Board sitting in London ; management through a company domiciled in India with a Board sitting

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PASSENGERS CARRIED AND EARNINGS FROM INDIAN RAILWAYS.

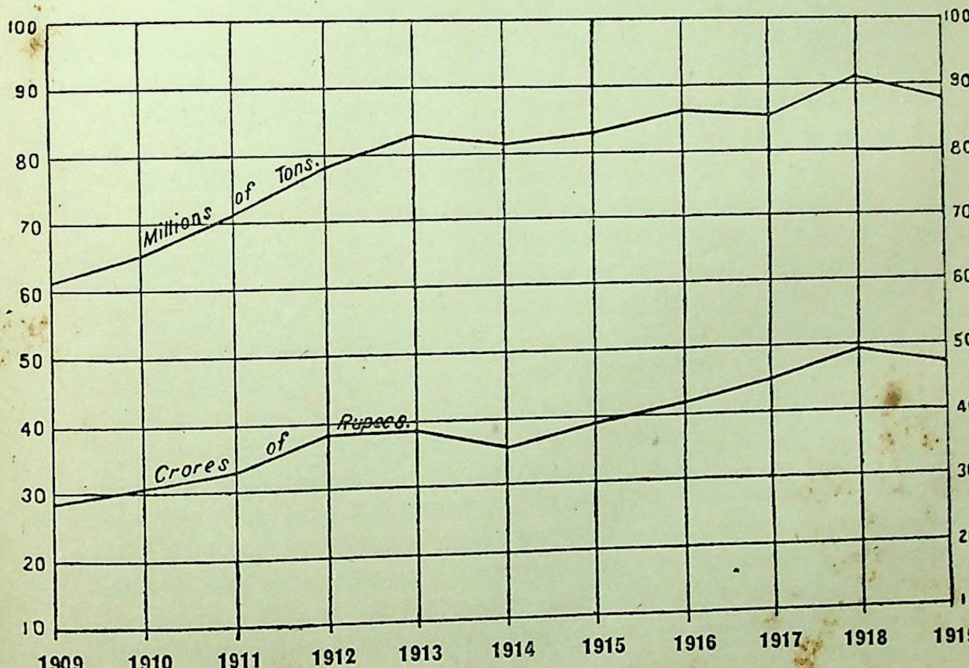
Millions of passengers.



Crores of Rupees. Millions of Pounds.

TONNAGE AND EARNINGS FROM GOODS TRAFFIC ON INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Millions of tons.



Crores of Rupees. Millions of Pounds.

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in India, and management through a combination of the two last methods. The Committee was to advise as to the policy to be adopted when existing contracts with the several Railway Companies are terminated; and to examine the function, status and constitution of the Railway Board, and the system of control exercised by Government over Railway administration. It was also to consider arrangements for the financing of railways in India, and in particular the feasibility of utilizing to a greater degree private enterprise and capital in the construction of new lines. The Committee was also to report whether the present system of control by Government of rates and fares, and the machinery for deciding disputes between railways and traders are satisfactory. During the period under review, the Committee was duly constituted under the presidency of Sir W. Ackworth. Among its members were included representatives of railway, financial and commercial interests both in England and in India. After a short preliminary session in England the Committee commenced its enquiry in Calcutta in December 1920, and after proceeding to Bombay, Madras and other centres will return to England in the spring of 1921 to complete its investigation and to issue its Report. The interest excited by its public sessions has been very great; for Indians have long desired to obtain a greater share in the management of a matter so vitally connected with the prosperity of their country as is the railway system. There have also been stock grievances, such as the accusation that preference is given in the supply of waggons to European-owned industries, which can only be disproved by a full and frank investigation into the causes of complaint.

Posts and Telegraphs.

There can be no doubt that there is growing popular interest in the communication facilities of India. Conjoined with this is a steady demand for their improvement, of which an index is afforded by the unchecked progress of the traffic handled by the Posts and Telegraphs Department. When the Postal Service of India was formed into a separate department with a Director General in 1854 it started with 700 offices. The number in 1919-20 was roughly 20,000—which is still only one to every 93 square miles of country—with 100,000 postal officials and 160,000 miles of main line. Mails in India are carried by such various means as runners, railways, horses, and sea and river craft, mail carts, camels and tongas; but where practicable the slower modes of conveyance are gradually being replaced by motor transport. During the year under review the length of the motor mail lines increased to nearly 2,000 miles; but it is a remarkable fact that

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the mail runner is still employed on no less than 57 per cent. of the mail lines. The public utility of the Indian Post Offices is not confined to the collection, conveyance and delivery of correspondence. In addition, it acts as a banker and agent of the public, it enables them to do their shopping from all distances, it sells quinine, it insures the lives of Government employés, it collects custom duty, it receives salt revenue and it pays the pension of retired soldiers of the Indian Army. It may be mentioned incidentally that India possesses the highest Post Office in the world at Pharijong which is 14,300 feet above sea-level. She may also claim the post office in the wettest situation, for at Cherrapunji the annual rainfall is about 50 feet.

The Post Office.

Owing chiefly to the favourable conditions of trade in the year 1919-20, the business of the post office expanded in all branches. The total number of postal articles of all kinds, excluding money-orders, transmitted during the year is estimated at 1,367 millions. The net surplus of receipts over expenditure amounted to £0·74 million as compared with £0·38 million in the previous year, despite the fact that a general revision of pay and the introduction of a time-scale, totalling in all a cost of £1 million, have been introduced as a result of the Committee whose appointment was mentioned in last year's report. This large increase in the surplus is directly due to a general growth of the work of the department. Among the branches of post office work which showed considerable increase was the Savings Bank, the number of active accounts being 1·76 million, while the average credit balance of each depositor rose from £11 to £12.

Telegraphs.

In the Telegraph Branch, the volume of traffic disposed of during the year 1919-20 was some 6 per cent. less than that of the previous period. This is attributable apparently to the delays to which telegrams are subjected on account of shortage of staff and insufficient wire accommodation. The difficulty of obtaining material for expansion has continued during the year, but in spite of this, nearly 12,000 miles of wire and cable conductors were added to the system, which at the end of 1919-20 consisted of just under 90,000 miles of line and cable carrying 370,000 miles of wire. During the year the urgent necessity for improving the pay and prospects of the Telegraph Department led to the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry, which made recommendations as to the improvement of pay and working conditions, in order to remedy the discontent which was making itself manifest among the staff. Increases

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of pay and of overtime rates have been sanctioned; and house rent allowances to members of the staff not provided with free quarters have also been granted. Steps have been taken to recruit and train additional men during the year, in order to make up the shortage of staff which exists on account of the large number of men still absent on field service, and on deputation in Mesopotamia and elsewhere.

Wireless.

The growing congestion of the telegraph wires of India and the seriousness of the delays which occasionally arise owing to extent or interruption of traffic, lend particular importance to the progress of wireless telegraphy. A special Wireless Branch of the Telegraph Department has now been set up under the charge of five experts brought out from England. Unfortunately, atmospheric disturbances, which interfere with wireless working, are specially troublesome from April to October in India during which period reliable communication by wireless is impossible for a considerable part of the day. New apparatus has been imported which considerably improves the efficiency of the several stations equipped with it, particularly as regards receptivity during unfavourable conditions. During 1919-20 valuable assistance was given by the wireless system from time to time when communication by the land lines was interrupted from one cause or another. Another means which it is hoped before long will remedy the congestion of the telegraph system is the increased employment of telephones. The demand during the year continued to grow, but owing to the difficulty of obtaining instruments, underground cables and switch-boards, it could not be met in full. There is no doubt that when material is available the telephone service will expand very rapidly. At the beginning of 1920 there were still only 245 exchange systems worked by Government with just under 9,000 connections, and 325 independent systems with just over 1,000 connections. The number of connections supplied by the Department only increased to the extent of 2,000 during the year under review, while almost the same number of new connections were supplied by the licensed telephone companies, which worked 13 exchanges and 18,000 connections during the same period. There was however a growth in the trunk lines available for public use, the length of which at the close of the year amounted to roughly 1,600 miles. The only thing that hinders expansion in this as in other branches of telephonic activity is the difficulty of obtaining necessary material.

Aviation.

Among other means of communication which in the future will probably play a great part in the development of India must be mentioned aviation. As was stated

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in last year's Report, an Air Board has been constituted to advise on matters connected with Civil Aviation. Surveys of the primary air routes between Bombay and Calcutta, Calcutta and Rangoon, Calcutta and Delhi, Karachi and Bombay, Delhi and Karachi, have been completed, and it is hoped in time to provide aerodromes at the terminal stations of these routes, together with landing grounds at suitable intermediate points. Unfortunately the cost of providing aerodromes and landing grounds at all these places has been discovered to be prohibitive, and it has been decided that the route from Bombay to Rangoon *viâ* Allahabad and Calcutta should be tackled first. Attention is being concentrated at the beginning on the preparation of the Calcutta-Rangoon section, and as soon as this route or a sufficient length of it is complete, tenders for an air mail service over the completed section will be called for. But the general financial situation of India, to which reference has been made in other places, renders it unlikely that funds will be forthcoming in the near future for the preparation of this route. That Civil Aviation is merely in its infancy in India may be indicated by the fact that during the year under review only two aeroplanes were registered and thirteen licenses issued to pilots and ground engineers ; but the 100 aeroplanes presented by His Majesty's Government to India have arrived, and so far about half this number have been disposed of. Some have been accepted by local Governments and Administrations, others have been presented to Ruling Princes and 20 have been made over to the Royal Air Force for instructional purposes. The remainder are being distributed to aero-clubs, companies and individuals for purposes of demonstration and instruction.

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CHAPTER V.

The People of India.

Food.

In last year's Report mention was made of the remarkable manner in which the population of India weathered the economic storm of the year 1918-19. During that period, as was pointed out, there was sustained the worst crop failure recorded since the famine of 1899-1901. None the less, even throughout the areas most seriously affected, there was a marked and impressive absence of visible signs of distress. Furthermore, the maximum number of persons on relief in 1919 was less than 1-10th of the corresponding number in 1900. But the period of distress through which India passed did not fail to cause serious hardship to the masses. Fortunately the harvests of 1919 and the spring harvest of 1920 were good, with the result that the prices of food grains have shown a distinct tendency to fall during the period under review. It is true that the last two harvests have enabled depleted stocks of food grains to be replaced to a considerable extent; and another good season might very easily induce prices to fall still further. But good harvests, while relieving distress, cannot provide an immediate remedy for the economic depression consequent upon the war, which has affected India seriously, if less seriously than other countries. The increase in the price of food stuffs cannot be divorced from the increase in the price of other necessaries of life, and the cost of grain cannot be very low when the price of everything else is high.

Effect of high prices.

The precise effect of such a rise in prices as that which has been a universal consequence of the world war, upon the condition of the rural population of India—that is to say upon 90 per cent. of Indians—is a matter upon which differences of opinion have been manifest. It has been held on the one hand that since landholders and village people generally depend upon the prosperity of the land for their own prosperity, the fact that they can obtain higher prices for their produce must lead to

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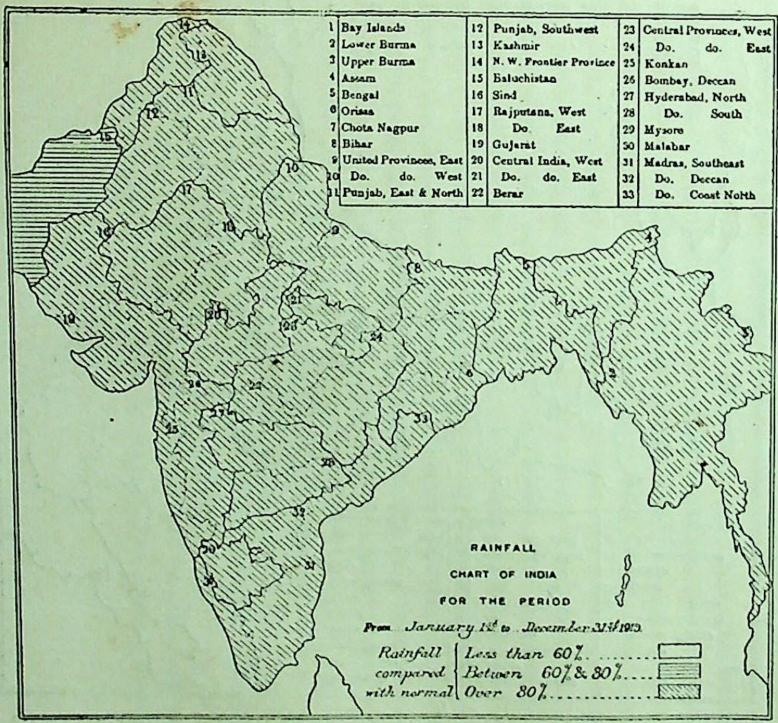
their general economic advantage. On the other hand, it is stated that in practice every rise in prices has led to more distress and greater poverty in rural areas. Economists in India have devoted considerable attention to this problem, which is of immediate practical importance, since in the periodical land assessments which occur in India, changes in prices have always been considered a valid factor in determining changes in the settlement. Some interesting conclusions as to the effect of a rise in prices upon the condition of the rural population have recently been published by Dr. Harold Mann, whose investigations into certain villages in the Deccan have led him to formulate general canons of considerable importance. It seems that where prices rise without increase of wages, the gulf between the solvent and the insolvent classes of villagers tends to widen, the vast majority of the people who were previously solvent becoming more solvent, while the position of the insolvents deteriorates. On the other hand, since the rate of interest, which is always high in India, does not increase with the rise in prices, those who have incurred large debts previously suffer less in proportion than the others. It would further appear that a 50 per cent. rise in prices, without a corresponding increase in wages, makes for the advantage of those people who have sufficient land, which they work with their own labour, to maintain them in a sound position; but the man who benefits most is the non-cultivating proprietor. Where, as is so frequently the case, there is a combined dependence upon land worked by a family and upon income from that family's labour, the position depends solely upon the proportion between the income derived from the land and the income derived from the labour. But the general effect on the village population of a rise in prices without a corresponding rise in wages is apparently disastrous; and the annual deficit of expenses over earnings in the families belonging to a given village increases enormously. On the whole, it may be said that a rise in prices tends to emphasize economic differences throughout the rural population of India, those who are well-to-do becoming more well-to-do, and those who are poor becoming poorer.

Condition of the Rural Masses.

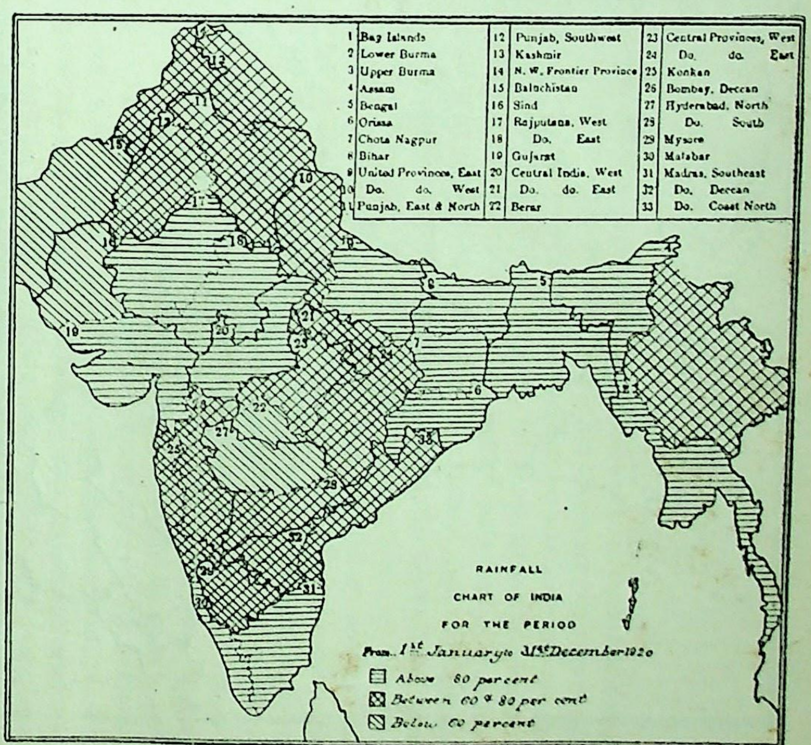
Since the average margin of subsistence is very small, the tendency of wages to lag behind prices has been responsible for a good deal of distress during the period under review. Without an extremely elaborate and costly survey, such as there is little chance of organising in

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RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1919.

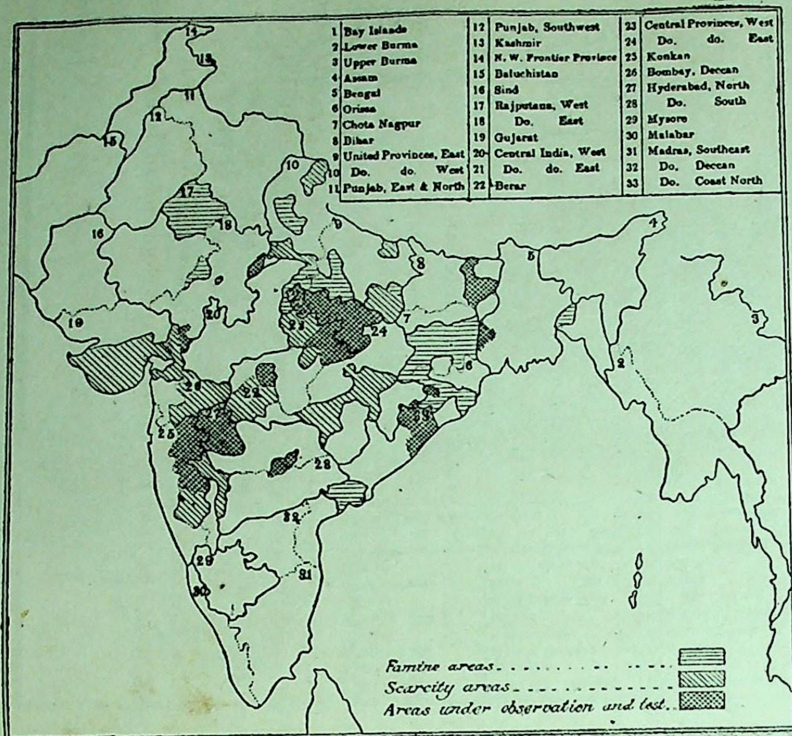


RAINFALL CHART OF INDIA 1920.

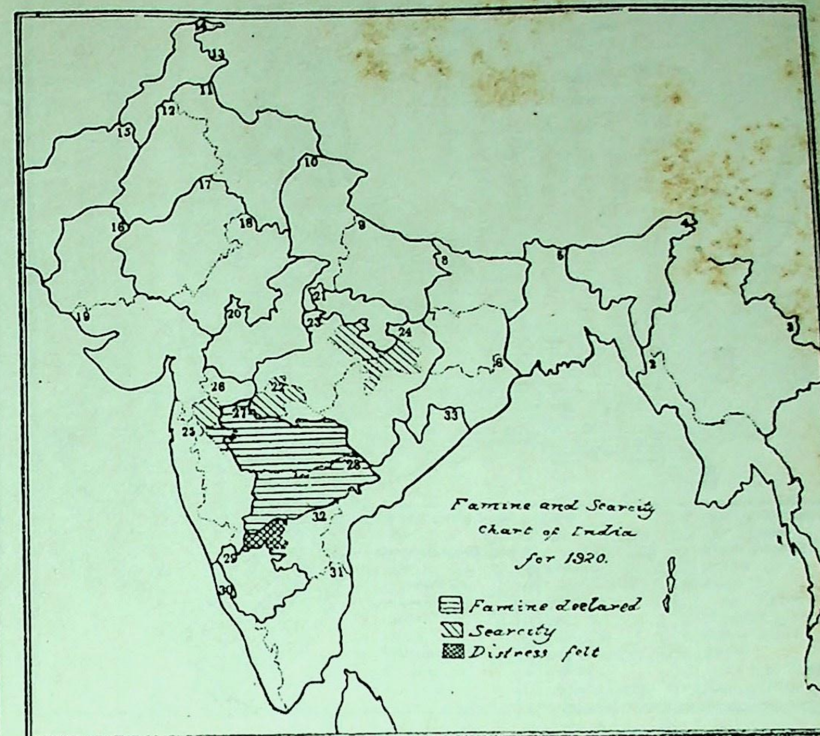


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SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1919.



SCARCITY CHART OF INDIA 1920.



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India for some time to come, it is impossible to strike a balance which will indicate the average economic position of the Indian peasant. Nor indeed, it may well be argued, would such an average, even if reasonably accurate, be of much practical service; for conditions as well as habits of life vary between extremes so widely separated for different parts of India, that any average must be misleading. It is therefore impossible to settle with exactness the problem, which is constantly propounded in the public press, whether the masses of India are becoming poorer under British rule. The evidence to the contrary is apparently very strong, even if it be indirect. The increasing popularity of railway travel, as witnessed by the ever-growing numbers of third class passengers, would seem to indicate that more money is available, over and above the bare necessaries of life, than was previously the case. The recent greatly increased absorption of rupees, which two years ago threatened the whole currency-system of India with inconvertibility, combined with the growing employment of silver for purposes of adornment by classes of the population previously, and within living memory, accustomed to brass and iron, would seem to point in the same direction. Further, the gradual substitution of a monetary for a natural system of economy, with its accompaniments of dependence upon imported cloth, imported mineral oil and imported metal utensils for domestic purposes, would seem to show that those who advance India's claim to increasing prosperity have something more than personal prejudice upon which to base their contention. But symptoms of increasing prosperity such as have been described, cannot blind the observer to the poverty which besets masses of the Indian population—poverty of a kind which finds no parallel in the more exigent because less tropical, climate of Europe. That the resisting powers of the poorer classes are on the increase, may fairly be deduced from the manner, already mentioned, in which the famine crisis of 1919 was surmounted ; but it is equally true that the recent high prices have been the cause of much suffering which is not the less real because of the silent endurance of the sufferers. It is little indeed that any administration can do to mitigate the gigantic problem of Indian poverty, although, as was amply apparent in 1919, Governmental action may in times of crisis avert sudden disaster. Even today with all the knowledge and science of the West at his disposal, man can in India do little as compared with the monsoon. As time goes on, it may be hoped that the increased development of India's resources

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will gradually create a *per capita* figure of wealth which will suffice for her needs as a nation. But the industrial regeneration of two hundred and forty millions of people, the majority of whom are poor and helpless beyond Western conception, is not a matter which can be accomplished in a few years.

Cost of living.

Throughout the year under review the main object of the administration has been to get rid so far as possible of those measures of food control which the critical situation of 1919 rendered inevitable. Internal control was completely abolished from the beginning of May 1920, and while this was accompanied by a small rise in prices in certain parts of India the general effect was beneficial. But owing to the high prices prevalent in foreign countries, continuance of the control over the exports of principal and minor food grains has been necessary. In England, it may be noticed, the cost of living is 135 per cent. greater than in pre-war days, in France 220 per cent. and in Italy 306 per cent. Unrestricted export of grain from India, under these circumstances, would have quickly exhausted the Indian market; and the result would have been to force Indian prices up to a level corresponding with those in other countries. As has been pointed out in previous Reports, such a consequence would have been nothing short of disastrous, since the ordinary margin of subsistence of the cultivating classes is probably smaller in India than in any other country with an equal claim to civilization. Accordingly, during the year under review, exports of minor food grains have been permitted only to a very limited extent to those countries which have a large Indian population. But towards the close of 1920 a general fall in prices rendered it possible to relax in small degree the export restrictions. The price of rice fell very considerably throughout the year. If the pre-war price be taken as 100, calculation reveals the fact that at the beginning of the year 1919, rice stood in Bengal at 162, a figure which at the beginning of 1920 had risen to 192. But as the good spring crops threw their continually increasing weight into the market, the index number of the price of rice declined to 147. Mention was made in last year's Report of the steps taken to control Burma rice exports for the benefit of the Indian market. At the beginning of 1920, a scheme was introduced which had as its object the keeping down of internal prices in Burma, under which scheme 0·93 million tons of rice were shipped to India at cost price during 1920, while 0·89 tons were

Falling prices.

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sold and shipped to foreign countries by the Rice Commissioner. The profits of these latter sales amounting to some £9 millions were made over to the Burma Government to be expended for the benefit of the cultivators. But during the latter part of 1920 the world price of rice fell considerably, and rendered possible the re-establishment of free trade between Burma and India, and the removal of control from trade between Burma and foreign countries, except that exports to foreign countries are only allowed under license up to a fixed limit of some 900,000 tons. But should the Burma prices rise beyond the level of the controlled rate fixed in 1920, the power has been reserved to re-impose restrictions. In wheat also, thanks to a good harvest, it was found possible to sanction the export of 400,000 tons at the end of September 1920 within the price limit of Rs. 5-8 per maund of 82 lbs. at Lyallpur, and arrangements have been made for the purchase of the quantity which is forthcoming within this limit, and for its shipment and sale to foreign countries on Government account through six principal wheat-exporting firms at Karachi acting as direct agents to the Government of India. The quantity purchased and sold up to the end of the year 1920 amounted to some 150,000 tons.

The Annual "Food-Drain."

The high prices which were prevalent at the beginning of the year led to considerable complaint on the part of the educated classes, and of those with small fixed incomes. Despite the fact that a rigid control of the export of food grains had been for some time in existence, there was a widespread popular belief that this export trade was responsible for the prevailing high prices. But as was pointed out in last year's Report, even prior to the introduction of the system of control, the average net export of grain and pulse from India in the ten years ending 1918, has averaged less than 1·5 million tons per annum as against a total production of food stuffs estimated at somewhere near 80 million tons. This small exportable surplus, kept in the country by the restrictions imposed last year, undoubtedly assisted India to pull through the crisis caused by the monsoon failure in 1918-19; but its smallness seems to show that the country relied rather upon her food stocks than upon the quantity which she would normally have exported. The fall in prices, towards the end of the period under review, may be taken as an indication that the food reserves of India are now approaching their normal level. The general justification for the restrictions on export enforced during the year lies in the fact

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that though the prices of food stuffs in foreign countries have in many cases risen, prices in India have generally shown a decline.

Food control.

At the same time it would be a mistake to maintain, as is frequently done in certain sections of the Indian press, that a complete and permanent restriction on the export of food grains would conduce to the benefit of India. Already there are signs that the Indian cultivator, who is as alive to obvious economic facts as his prototype in other countries, is beginning to turn his attention from food grains to crops which fetch a better price in a wider market. In certain parts of India, for example in Bengal, the decrease in the provincial area under food crops caused by the growth of the area under such crops as jute is exciting a certain alarm.

Promises belied.

Towards the close of the period under review, the promise held out by the prosperous season of 1919 was unfortunately not fulfilled. In certain parts of India the monsoon of 1920 has been seriously in defect, and it has become evident that scarcity and famine will again have to be faced. Until about the middle of November 1920, leaving aside some distress in parts of Bihar and Orissa, Burma, and Hyderabad, there was no scarcity or famine. But the early cessation of the monsoon and the lack of winter rains has since then caused the agricultural situation in other parts of the country to deteriorate, with the result that famine has been declared in one district of the Bombay Presidency, while scarcity exists in another district and in seven districts of the Central Provinces. Famine conditions in Hyderabad have also become more pronounced; and distress has prevailed in certain districts of the Madras Presidency. In consequence of this, by the end of the year 1920 the famine-relief machinery of India was set in motion for the benefit of some 92,000 persons. Grants of money have been sanctioned for the affected areas, and relief works and gratuitous relief have also been provided. Revenue has been remitted on a generous scale, and preparations have been made to meet future developments.

Despite all the efforts of the Administration, the economic conditions of the last two years have pressed heavily, both upon the urban and the rural population of India, producing inevitably discontent and restlessness. Labour problems have come to the front as never before, and have acquired a new prominence in the public eye on account of the wide-spread demand, described in a previous chapter, for rapid industrial development.

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It has been pointed out with much force that Indian labour has not been up to the present the cheap commodity that it appears to be. Although it is paid low wages as compared with British or American labour, it is often untrained, inefficient and inclined to be slovenly in its work. Indian employers, speaking with a knowledge of the country which Europeans can hardly hope to emulate, have asserted that in such industries as spinning and weaving, the efficiency of the Indian workmen is at least 50 per cent. below that of his European fellow, and that in India two or three times the number of men are required per spindle and loom unit as compared with those necessary in European countries. Further, although the nominal hours of work in the Bombay mills, for example, are ten per day, mill owners who speak with an intimate knowledge of working conditions assert that the actual number of hours worked by the individual operatives is not more than ninety per cent. of this period, on account of the general custom of substitution. It has long been an axiom with Indian employers that the labourer prefers long hours with lax discipline to shorter hours with strict discipline. But during 1920 there has been a tendency to give the latter plan a trial. The shorter hours which workmen have successfully insisted upon in Ahmedabad, Bombay and elsewhere, have, indeed, rendered this inevitable. There are, nevertheless, certain difficulties. Indian labour inclines to be irregular in its attendance, being prone to take days off when it feels so inclined. It is therefore a truism to assert that the industrial progress of India will come despite rather than through low paid labour. The efficiency of the Indian workman must be raised considerably before he can turn out as good work as his rival overseas. The first step towards raising his efficiency is to raise his standard of living ; and before this can be effected, the wages, housing and general conditions of labour in India will have to be improved considerably. Already serious efforts are being made to tackle the last two problems. The Improvement Trusts in great cities such as Bombay are spending large sums of money in an endeavour to relieve the congestion which threatens to make the housing conditions of labour intolerable. In Bombay itself, which is still far behind other industrial centres, in the period under review more than one million sterling has been spent on land acquisition ; and great progress has been made in providing modernised dwellings for the workers. Attention is also being directed more and more prominently in the great industrial centres to what is known in

Labour.

Housing conditions.

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the West as welfare work. The Social Service League in Bombay is now carrying on welfare work among the operatives employed in the two groups of mills under the agency of Messrs. Currimbhoy Ibrahim and Messrs. Tatas. Welfare work on an extensive scale is also being conducted in the Tata industrial city at Jamshedpur. There can be no doubt that a great future awaits work of this character in India, as Indian capitalists learn to keep themselves apprised of the corresponding developments which have taken place in England and America. That there is ample scope for it is obvious from the conditions under which the Indian labourer is at present forced to live. There is a great future also for co-operative credit societies among mill hands, who as a class are thriftless and liable to fall into the clutches of extortionate shop-keepers and money-lenders. But before very much progress can be made in ameliorating the lot of the Indian labourer, some systematic attempt must be made to give him sufficient education to enable him to perceive his own interest more clearly than is the case at present. Many of the more enlightened mill-owners in India maintain schools for the education of the children of their employees; but the energy which has so far been directed towards the education of the mill hand in his spare time has not been proportionate to the magnitude of the work involved. Private organisations, such as the Social Service League, are doing valuable work in this direction in Bombay and elsewhere; but the matter has not received the attention it deserves either from the mill-owners themselves or from municipalities.

Welfare work.

During the period under review, self-help has overshadowed both voluntary and official efforts to improve the lot of the Indian labourer. The year 1920 has been one of unprecedented economic restlessness in India—restlessness which has afforded a great stimulus to the organisation of labour. Mention was made in last year's Report of the formation of labour unions in India. During the period under review, these labour unions have come prominently before the notice of the general public on account of the magnitude and frequency of the strikes which have taken place. It must be mentioned that hitherto the generality of these unions have not possessed any clear-cut organisation. The majority of them are run in a fashion which makes comparison with the corresponding institutions in the West very misleading. There are certain unions in India, such as the Seamen's Unions, the Indian Telegraph Association and the Railway Workers' Association, which

The year 1920.

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possess their own paid staffs, and are well on the way to that completeness of organisation which marks the trade union system of the West.

Trades Unions.

But the major portion of the 70 or 80 labour unions now nominally existing in India are really more of the nature of strike committees, and can hardly be said to possess any permanent organisation at all. This is partly to be explained by the fact that in many of the important industrial centres the labour population is floating—that is to say, the average labourer is domiciled in a locality comparatively remote, from that in which he works, and he expects to return once more to his village after a comparatively short period spent in mill or factory ; and partly by the fact that many labourers dislike the idea of regular contributions and union discipline, so that a given union rarely embraces more than a small percentage of the men employed in any establishment. In consequence, the authority which can be exercised by the smaller unions over the men as a whole is very restricted —a limitation which naturally prejudices their powers of collective bargaining. In this connection, although it would be misleading to over-stress the point, it may be noticed that the phenomenon known as the " unauthorised strike " has made its appearance in India ; and that in the case of a trades union so well organised as the Railway Workers' Association. The need for increased efficiency in organisation among Indian trades unions has made itself amply apparent during the period under review. It is significant that in November 1920 an all-India Congress of trades unions assembled in Bombay, and passed a number of resolutions on different labour problems. So far as Bombay and Madras are concerned this gathering was representative in character ; and the mere fact of its assembly constituted an interesting forecast of that tendency towards articulation which must be fostered if Indian trades unionism is to flourish. Near the end of 1920, an important decision of the Madras High Court revealed the necessity of legislation for the protection of trades unions in India.

Their difficulties.

As the law now stands, it is possible to obtain an injunction restraining a trades union official or organiser from influencing labourers to break their contract with their employers by striking to obtain an increase of wages. It is to be regretted that this point should have come up for decision thus early in the history of trades unionism in India ; for the movement is as yet only in its initial stages ; and the precipitation of an issue so grave before the main lines of development have had time to settle

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themselves, will probably not be without prejudicial effect. The task of devising a formula for the protection of trades unions, which with one or two notable exceptions at present hardly exist in a coherent form, is necessarily one of extraordinary difficulty from the point of view of the Legislature.

Strikes.

As has already been mentioned, high prices and poor conditions of living have produced their effect in strikes during 1920, serious dislocations of industry occurring from time to time. During the period under review, nearly 200 strikes, some of them of considerable importance, have taken place up and down India. Not a few were protracted, involving the general public in considerable inconvenience. Among the most important of these, may be mentioned the strikes of the mill hands in Ahmedabad and in Bombay. The latter strike was reckoned to have caused a loss in production alone of £8 millions. There was also a serious strike at the great Tata works at Jamshedpur in February and March. Before the middle of the year there was a serious strike on the North Western Railway system; and at the close of the year a strike of the postal employees at Bombay, which was productive of great hardship to the mercantile community and to the general public. Protracted strikes, accompanied in some cases with disorder, occurred in most of the important industrial centres of India, particularly Madras, Calcutta and Bombay. But one leading characteristic of this strike epidemic has been the prevalence of short strikes, leading to the intermission of work for a few days only. Many strikes throughout the year have been followed almost immediately by an increase of wages ranging from 10 to 30 per cent. and a reduction of working hours. It is probable that a certain number of the strikes in 1920, more particularly those in the coalfields as well as in the railways and postal services, were not unconnected with the non-co-operation movement to which reference has already been made in an earlier chapter. But in general it may be said that the strikes throughout the year have been predominantly economic in origin, and in most cases directly caused by the fact that wages have lagged seriously behind prices in their upward course.

Political influences.

The tendency of some observers to discover political motives in the majority of Indian strikes is probably to be explained by the fact that hitherto those who organise these strikes have been drawn as a whole from the educated classes,

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and in individual cases, may have already made themselves prominent by political activity in other spheres. It is also undeniable that certain advocates of non-co-operation have utilised labour unrest, purely economic in origin, for the purpose of embarrassing Government. But the genuineness of the labour movement in India is revealed by a tendency, noticeable towards the close of the period under review, in the direction of the control of the labour unions by the labourers themselves, and the gradual exclusion from positions of responsibility of those persons who have no direct connection with the trade or industry concerned.

The seriousness of the present condition of economic unrest in India arises from the fact that if the country is to make any real progress towards responsible government, there must be a substantial and continuous increase in her resources. This increase depends chiefly upon industrial advance, and nothing will do more to check it than continuous conflict beteen employers and employed. Accordingly efforts have been made by the Indian administration to convince responsible opinion of the supreme necessity of preventing the flames of industrial discord from rising higher. In his speech at the opening of the Imperial Legislative Council on the 20th August 1920, Lord Chelmsford made a strong appeal to the capitalists of India to prevent strikes by removing their causes:

Labour V. Capital.

"I would earnestly impress upon employers the necessity for sympathetic consideration of the claims of Labour. It has too often proved the case that employers, after a long and ruinous struggle, have been forced to concede claims that they might have allowed with honour and with profit as soon as they were presented. It too frequently happens that employers are in imperfect contact with those they employ, and are consequently unable to redress grievances that finally result in very serious disputes. Workers are beginning to demand not merely the right to live in comfort but a living interest in their work. This is a claim that must be taken seriously, and I see no reason why we should not make our new start abreast of the most advanced European countries. So long as Indian industry was organised on a small scale, the close personal contact between the master and each of his men secured intimate, if not harmonious, relations. With the inevitable growth of great factories and mills this contact, in its original form, has become impossible, and there is a tendency to allow the bond between employer and employed to

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become a purely commercial one. It is essential that machinery should be devised which will re-establish under modern conditions personal contact and good understanding. One of the latest developments designed to meet this need elsewhere is the Works Committee, which is intended to enable the employer to realise the difficulties and hardships of his men, and to give the employed an opportunity of making known their needs and of influencing directly the policy of those who control the factory or workshop in which they serve. I have observed with pleasure that this idea has already commended itself to some of the leading employers in India. We are endeavouring to establish similar committees in the few industrial establishments under our control. The welfare of workers, and especially the care of women and children, and provision for the education of the latter, are matters that are engaging the attention of many employers at the present time. My Government is preparing itself, in consultation with local Governments and employers, to furnish advice and help in this important matter. I sincerely believe that employers, who are willing to meet labour in this spirit and to treat their business as being as much the concern of their workers as of themselves, will find their reward not merely in increased profit, for that will not be lacking, but in the gratitude and loyalty of their men, and in the knowledge that they are furthering in the best way possible the contentment and the happiness of their country."

" To those who are endeavouring to influence and focus the aspirations of labour I would counsel a similar sympathy and forbearance; their responsibility is even greater than that of the employers. Labour in India is as yet scarcely articulate. But large numbers of working men are being enfranchised and they will look to the leaders of Indian opinion for guidance and help. It will be a tragic and irreparable disaster if India is forced to repeat the long history of industrial strife in England. There will always be men ready to foment strife; some hope to achieve notoriety and influence out of the quarrels of others; more create mischief through ignorance. The great majority of disputes admit of easy settlement, and there is no direction in which sane and sagacious political leaders can exercise a greater influence for good. In any strike it is the workers that suffer first and longest. And if we have to go through a long period of strife, industry will be crippled and the good start that we are making will be lost. To Hon'ble Members I would say, if you can bring capital and labour closer together, if you make it your duty to persuade them that their interest lies in

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co-operation and not in conflict, you will do more in a few years to better the condition of the workers in India than can be achieved by a life-time of agitation. The future of industrial India is in your hands."

But in India as elsewhere, labour has now become an international as well as a domestic question. The International Labour Conference organised under the League of Nations Covenant held a special meeting at Genoa during the months of June and July 1920 to consider a number of questions relating to seamen, such as the hours of labour, manning scales, accommodation, the provision of facilities for finding employment, the prohibition of child labour and other cognate questions. The Government of India, as a Member of the League of Nations, sent to the conference two Government delegates and two delegates representing respectively the employers and the work people. The draft conventions and recommendations which were adopted at the conference have been received from the Secretary General of the League of Nations, with a view to their ratification by the Government of India, and are now under consideration.

International aspect of Labour.

Mention was made in last year's Report of the presence of Indian representatives at the International Labour Conference held in Washington at the close of 1919. Both at this Conference and in subsequent communications with the International Labour Office, the Government of India found itself handicapped by the inadequacy of available information regarding labour in India. Since India is an original member of the League of Nations and has assumed certain responsibilities *vis à vis* the League in regard to labour, the possession of the necessary information is a matter of considerable moment. Further, the large share which the administration is now assuming in the industrial progress of the country, has compelled it to take into its most serious consideration all the problems connected with Indian labour. As a first step towards this, a Labour Bureau has been created which collects information on labour conditions, keeps in touch with similar organizations in other countries, and systematically gathers statistics regarding strikes, lock-outs, wages and cost of living. The Labour Bureau has of late been dealing with the draft conventions and draft recommendations adopted by the Labour Conference at Washington. These recommendations necessitate the revision of

Labour Bureau.

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the Indian Factories Act and certain other steps, a task which has now been undertaken.

Legislation.

At the end of the year 1920 proposals were on foot for the revision of the Factories Act in certain important directions. Provisions are to be inserted for enforcement of the sixty hours week. It is proposed to raise the minimum age of children from 9 to 12, and to amend the definition of "factory" so as to include all establishments employing not less than 20 persons and using power, while giving local governments authority to extend the application of the Act to any "factory" employing not less than 10 persons whether power is used or not. A further important change proposed is the abolition of the distinction between textile and non-textile factories, which will result in the extension to the latter of the limitation of daily hours of work for male adults to 12 hours and of children to 6 hours. It is also proposed to provide for an interval of at least an hour after six hours' work, and of at least half an hour to children who work for more than five hours. In addition to this, certain improvements are necessary in the provisions relating to health and safety, into which a comprehensive enquiry is shortly to be made. Two articles of the Washington Conference have been ratified without the necessity for legislative action. But there are certain other conventions which cannot be adopted in their entirety owing to the peculiar conditions of Indian labour. The delegates of India at Washington found that few of the delegates from other countries had any true conception of India's needs and conditions, and quite a number desired to enforce on India the same restrictions as countries with radically different climate and economic conditions are ready to accept. For example, the provision included in the draft Convention concerning unemployment, requires the regular furnishing of all available information and the creation of free public employment agencies, with representatives of employers and of workers to advise regarding their operation. It is difficult to apply this provision to India, first because, in the present unorganised state of Indian labour it will be impossible to furnish returns of the kind expected; but mainly because the demand for industrial labour has for long exceeded the supply, and the unemployment of agricultural labour is unknown in ordinary seasons. There already exists in the Famine organisation a machinery for dealing with exceptional unemployment on a most extensive scale. This machinery concerns itself not only with the agriculturist and the agricultural labourer, but also

Washington Conference.

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with the village artisan whose livelihood depends on the custom of the agriculturist. During the famine season, employment is found not only for labourers thrown out of work, but also for the small cultivators who have been deprived of their crops.

From all that has been said, it will be apparent that throughout India there is great need for a systematic effort towards the uplift of the masses. Probably the most powerful single agency for improving the conditions of Indian labour, both rural and urban, is to be found in the co-operative movement.

Co-operation.

During the last decade, co-operation has made rapid strides in India and has gone far afield. Agricultural societies have made steady progress, and societies have been organised for the joint sale of agricultural produce, for the joint produce and sale of implements and manures, and for such useful purposes as irrigation and the consolidation of holdings. Their work has spread into many channels which bring practical benefits not only to their members but also to the surrounding locality, through the opening of dispensaries and schools, the introduction of improved methods of cultivation, the improvement of communications and the like. There is an immense field for co-operative work in India, as is amply apparent from the fact that there are still only a little over 33,000 societies in the country. As was mentioned in last year's Report, public confidence in the movement shows obvious signs of growing. The proportion of loans and deposits from non-members has nearly doubled in the course of four years and now represents one-third of the total capital. The progress which has been accomplished during the year under review, may be considered satisfactory. In all provinces, the policy of steadily pruning away hopeless societies and carefully scrutinising all new applications for registration has been followed. Despite this, the vitality of the movement is proved by the fact that the number of agricultural credit societies has considerably increased and the reserve funds have grown to a remarkable degree. In every province of India there has been a considerable growth in the number of co-operative societies. In Bombay, for example, the number of agricultural credit societies has increased roughly from 1650 to 2,000 in the course of 1919-20, the working capital has arisen from £0·8 million to over £1 million, and the reserve funds from £50,000 to £70,000.

Bombay.

The movement in Bombay is particularly remarkable for the

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growth of non-credit agricultural societies, which concern themselves with such useful matters as the supply of manure, of seed and of implements. There are also societies for dairy produce, for cattle breeding, for cattle insurance and for the sale of cotton. As was mentioned in last year's Report, the foundation of the Central Co-operative Institute in Bombay has been productive of very useful results. Well attended training classes for Secretaries of co-operative societies have been organised and the instruction given is said to have been valuable in improving their work. Vernacular monthlies on co-operation are issued, and provincial conferences of co-operators are held from time to time.

Madras.

Madras shows a net increase of over one thousand in the number of agricultural credit societies, bringing the total up to more than 4,000, with a working capital of £1·6 millions. Purchase and sale societies also show a considerable growth, their membership having risen from 1,800 to 3,300. The general public attitude continued to be cordial. Village societies enlarged their trade activities, purchasing and selling agricultural and domestic implements, and similar commodities. Shoemakers and locksmiths started special types of societies; while officers working under the Labour Commissioner organised a number of societies solely for field labourers.

Bengal.

In Bengal the year has been attended with considerable improvement, most of the more unwieldy societies having been now split up and the bad cases either reconstituted or placed under liquidation. The co-operative movement has received great impetus from the personal interest in it displayed by the Governor, Lord Ronaldshay. There are now some 6,000 societies, as compared with 4,000 a year ago. The membership of agricultural credit societies has risen from 128,000 to 148,000, while the development of agricultural non-credit societies has been steady. Irrigation societies, whose number increased by four during the year, have done very useful work. For example the Salband society provides for the irrigation of more than 1,000 acres and is still extending its operations.

The Naogaon Society.

The Naogaon Ganja Cultivators Co-operative Society, of which mention was made in last year's Report, has continued its career of general usefulness in spheres other than the cultivation of the narcotic *Ganja* with which it is primarily concerned. An agricultural station has been opened, and the society acts as an agent in the distribution of tobacco seeds, sugarcane cuttings and other commodities supplied by the provincial Agricultural Department. Three sons of Ganja cultivators have been

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sent to learn tobacco cultivation. A charitable dispensary has been opened, a medical ward has been established, a qualified veterinary assistant has been appointed to look after the cattle of the cultivators. In addition the society has contributed to various charitable funds, and has put £150 at the disposal of the local board for the improvement of roads. The society has further established a colony of weavers, and trained them to produce cloth, which is sold faster than it can be made. An astounding improvement has taken place both in the moral and material condition of Naogaon. Thrift is taking the place of extravagance, expenditure on useless ceremonial has largely decreased, and litigation is on the wane. Considerable stimulus towards the progress upon sound lines of the co-operative movement in Bengal has been afforded by the foundation of the Bengal Co-operative Organisation Society, which acts as a central bureau of information and advises on matters relating to co-operation, besides performing useful propaganda work. In the Punjab, the number of agricultural societies has increased from 5,200 to 6,800, and the working capital from £1·6 millions to £1·8 millions. The amount of outstanding debt has undergone considerable reduction. It is interesting to notice that promising experiments are being made by societies for arbitration, consolidation of holdings, land mortgage redemption, irrigation, cattle breeding and the like. As many as 20 societies with nearly 700 members were formed during the year under review for the object of consolidating the scattered holdings which afford such a hindrance to improved methods of agriculture. Each individual applying for membership agrees to the general principle of consolidation, and promises to abide by any method of partition approved by two-thirds of all the members, further agreeing to give up possession of his land for four years in accordance with any plan of repartition so approved. Cultivating possession is given for this period, at the end of which period the old possession must be restored unless all the members unanimously decide otherwise. It is expected, however, that the trial will make the advantages of consolidation so clear that permanent exchange of ownership will ultimately result; and it is encouraging to note that in some cases owners have agreed to permanent exchange at once. The Punjab co-operators as a body are now taking a lively interest in the improvement of agriculture; and during the year under review, they were instrumental in selling a large number of improved implements. Many of them set aside small plots of land for the demonstration of new methods and

Punjab.

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for the testing of seeds of improved varieties. The United Provinces showed an increase in the number of agriculture societies from just under 3,200 to just under 3,500, but membership fell by nearly 3,000, and the working capital sank from £0·5 million to £0·48 million. This fall in membership and working capital is ascribed to the liquidation of some of the moribund societies which are a heritage from the policy of indiscriminate expansion pursued in the past. But the registration of 654 new societies means a real advance, in view of the great care now taken before registration is permitted. An encouraging feature of the year was a considerable decrease in arrears. The Co-operative Department is now joining hands with the Agricultural Department to introduce improved seeds, implements and manures; while a large industrial association has been formed with headquarters at Allahabad to push the development of industries which lend themselves to co-operative methods. In the Central Provinces the number of agricultural credit societies showed a rise of from 3,800 to 4,400 with corresponding increases in the membership. The working capital increased by not less than 34 per cent., and profits also show a large surplus. The average loan per member rose from £10 in the preceding year to £13 in the year under review; but the recovery of loans has been more satisfactory than in the past, and members have begun to realise the necessity of punctuality in repayment. Non-credit societies are also doing well, and the unions for the production and distribution of pure seed had a satisfactory season. There are two cattle-breeding societies which continued to do good work, and a cotton ginning society which made a net profit of £156. In Burma the number of credit societies rose from 2,600 to 3,320, while individual membership rose from 57,000 to nearly 73,000. There was no fall in the average standard of repayments, and the working capital and reserve fund showed a steady increase. Co-operation has attained a firm hold upon the people, and the introduction of improved crops and implements through the societies is making steady progress. Several societies have arranged among themselves for the construction of an irrigation channel two miles in length. The province of Bihar and Orissa shows satisfactory progress in the expansion of the numbers and membership of agricultural credit societies. Societies for the sale of agricultural produce did useful work, and

United Provinces.

Central Provinces.

Burma.

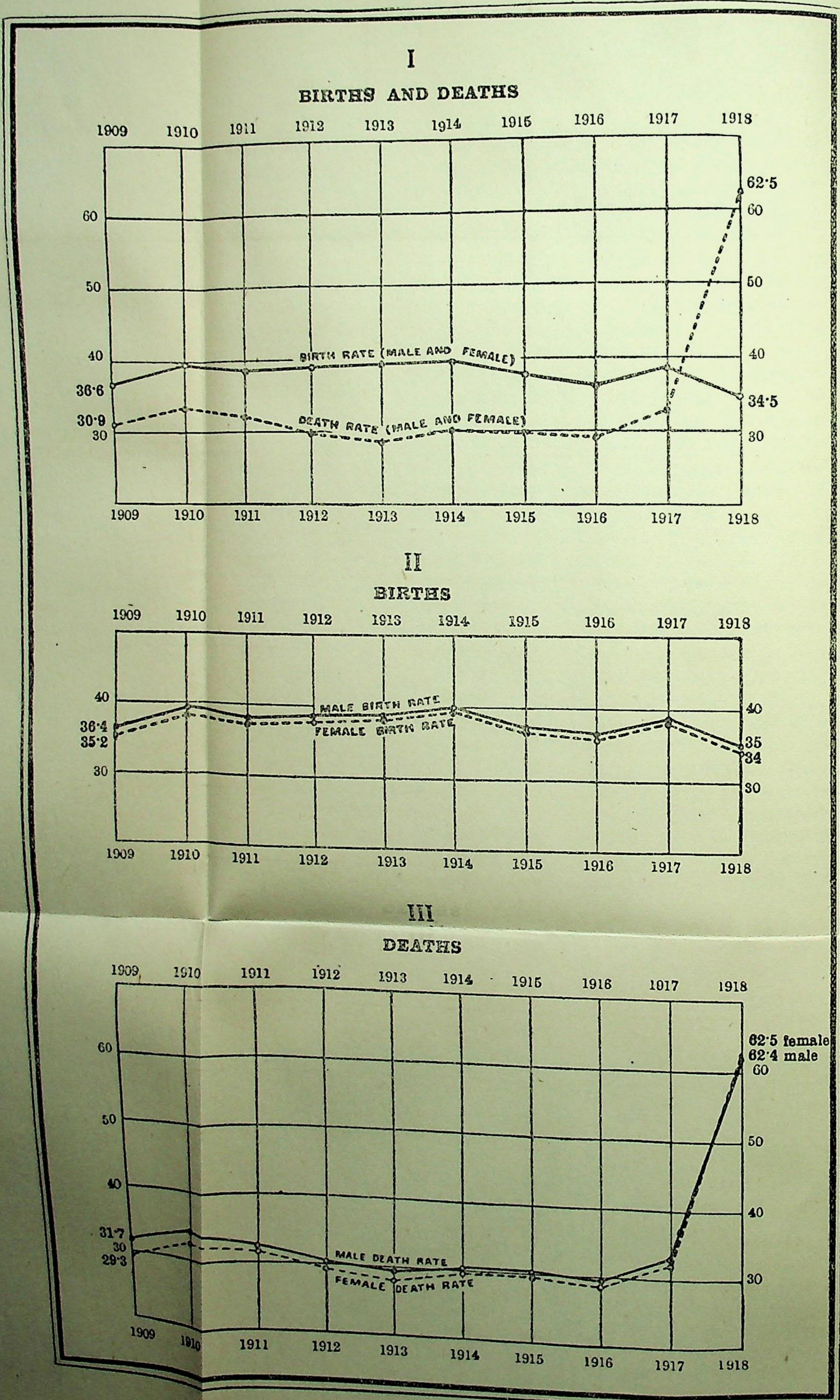
Bihar.

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BIRTHS AND DEATHS

Birth rate and Death rate per 1,000 of population in British India



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those in the Khurda sub-division succeeded in minimising the middleman's profits, to the extent of about five annas for every rupee's worth of grain. The advantage of combination for marketing agricultural produce is being increasingly appreciated by the cultivators. There is urgent need for an increase of the supervising agency, in the face of widespread demand for the extension of the movement. Unfortunately, there is a considerable amount of hostility from certain landlords, which will probably not disappear until the movement is more firmly established.

Among the lines of progress to which co-operation can powerfully contribute, is one most necessary to the well-being of the Indian people, namely Sanitation.

Sanitation.

In last year's Report mention was made of the difficulties attending the task of sanitary reform in India. The meagre resources of the administration, it was pointed out, have hitherto been able to accomplish but little in the face of widespread popular apathy. Until the enthusiasm, rather than the passive acquiescence, of the educated classes can be enlisted in the task of uplifting the sanitary condition of the masses, it will be almost impossible to safeguard India from a heavy death-rate punctuated by disastrous epidemics. It has been well remarked that the primitive condition of sanitation in rural India amounts to the virtual negation of any sanitation at all. The improvement of the economic and social condition of the masses through the spread of primary education may be relied upon in time to bring in its train ideas more in harmony with modern scientific conceptions of public health; but meanwhile there is urgent need of implanting the seeds of elementary sanitary knowledge. The value of fresh air, pure water and wholesome food, as well as the elements of domestic and personal hygiene have to be brought into the every-day life of the population. Some idea of the scope which exists for improvement in this direction is afforded by a study of the Indian death rate, as depicted in the diagram given on the opposite page. The startling steepness of the rise due to influenza mortality should not blind us to the high level which normally prevails. Even more startling are statistics of infantile mortality; for it has been calculated that every year no fewer than two million Indian babies die, while many others survive only to grow up weak and feeble, from unhygienic surroundings during infancy.

Popular education necessary.

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The difficulty of the task which confronts the administration in India can hardly be estimated by those without first hand knowledge of the conditions of the country. Great progress has already been made in research into diseases; but the more difficult task of applying on a large scale the beneficial results to which research leads, has not been tackled with anything like the same success. It is much to be hoped that in the sphere of sanitation, as in that of education, the transfer of the work to popular Ministers will be attended with the desired result of bringing home to the people at large some of the elementary principles of personal and civic hygiene. But it would be a mistake to imagine that the administration has been idle. During the year under review, sanction was received to the constitution of a Central Health Board to advise the Government of India and the Local Governments on technical matters and on sanitary policy; and the question of forming provincial Health Boards was taken up. A small Central Bureau was constituted to supplement work in the provinces, connected with the preparation of lantern slides and lectures for diffusing a knowledge of elementary hygiene among the people; and it is hoped that before long an Imperial Medical Research Institute will be established, which will strengthen the central organisation for combating epidemic diseases and for dealing with medical research. It is proposed to form an Epidemiological Bureau for the collection of statistics, and to maintain a body of epidemiologists who would ordinarily work in the provinces under the administrative control of the Local Governments, but who could be concentrated at the orders of the Government of India in any area afflicted by a severe epidemic.

Difficulties.

During the year under review, the perpetual warfare against the diseases with which India is afflicted, continued without intermission. The total extermination of bubonic plague from India is now regarded as a matter of persistent and organised effort, and the Government of India during the period under review has proposed the initiation of a more extensive fight against this disease. It is encouraging to notice that during the year 1918-19 the mortality sank to less than one-sixth of the mean mortality during the past two decades. An important part of the anti-plague campaign is the erection of rat-proof grain stalls which result in the diminution of the black rat responsible for the outbreak and spread of the disease. In those parts of India which are afflicted by malaria,

Plague.

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special projects are now undertaken; and in Bengal in particular have been responsible for reducing the death rate from malaria in certain districts where operations are in progress from 2·6 per mille to 1·15 per mille. The distribution of quinine through post offices has had considerable success as an anti-malarial measure. Against leprosy also, warfare is being waged; and thanks largely to the devoted labour of the Mission to Lepers in awakening public opinion to the seriousness of the leper problem in India, steps are being taken to prevent the spread of this disease and to ameliorate so far as may be the lot of those who suffer from it. Beneficial results have already been noticed from a new curative treatment introduced by Sir Leonard Rogers, and the whole problem is now receiving serious attention. The terrible epidemic of influenza to which reference was made in last year's Report, did not revisit India during the year under review; although in January there were some fears of an anticipated recrudescence. Prompt measures were at once taken by the administration to awaken public opinion to the danger, which, it is gratifying to record, failed to materialise. During the year 1920 plans to deal with any threatened importation of yellow fever were completed, as well as those to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases by pilgrims returning from the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca. The establishment of properly equipped quarantine stations in the various ports therefore received considerable attention throughout the period under review.

Malaria.

Leprosy.

Influenza.

Yellow fever.

From what has been said it will be apparent that ever-increasing efforts are being made both by the Central and the Local Governments to arouse public opinion to the desirability of interesting itself in the improvement of Indian sanitation. A noteworthy feature of the year has been the progress of the infant welfare movement, which owes much to the interest of Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford. Very successful exhibitions have been held in Delhi, Bombay, Madras, and other important centres, which have been responsible for awakening the public to the problems of infantile mortality. In certain parts of India this mortality attains almost incredible heights. For example, it has been calculated that no less than 50 per cent. of all the children in Bombay die before reaching the age of 18 months; while in Delhi, one infant out of every four born in 1919 was doomed to die within

Infant welfare.

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the first year. Very little can be done to remedy this terrible state of affairs until the support of Indian womanhood can be enlisted. This is difficult of accomplishment save through female agency; and since upon the Indian woman depends the success or failure of every attempt to introduce hygienic principles into Indian homes and to improve the conditions of child birth, there can be no doubt as to the immense importance of educating the female population in the elementary principles of sanitation. The medical work which is being accomplished by the National Association for the Provision of Female Medical Aid to the Women of India, is of the utmost moment, and the efforts of this organisation are being supplemented by voluntary agencies in almost every part of India. But there is so much ignorance, indifference and poverty on the part of Indian women at large, and so much opposition on the part of the indigenous midwives who consider their livelihood at stake, that the progress which is being made is very slow.

Growing popular interest.

The work which has been accomplished during the year under review in other directions is more encouraging. Considerable interest has been aroused among the educated classes in the problem of improving the sanitary conditions of the people at large. In the United Provinces, for example, a committee has recently been constituted to discuss the best methods of sustaining the Lady Chelmsford League for maternity and child welfare, while in Madras a private hospital for children, managed entirely by Indian doctors, constitutes a tangible sign of growing interest in one of India's greatest health problems. In almost every province a Board of Health is either constituted or contemplated; and there is a marked tendency on the part of District Boards to appoint full-time health officers for their localities. The employment of Sanitary Inspectors in growing numbers is another encouraging sign, as is also the commencement of organised propaganda, under the control of the Sanitary Commissioners, in Bombay, Bihar and other provinces, directed towards increasing a knowledge of hygiene among the leaders of the community. In almost every part of India considerable progress is being made with drainage and water works schemes, and the Health Associations which have been established by voluntary agency in all important towns are continuing their useful work. It is hoped that the extension of the sanitary education of India will proceed at an enhanced rate with the transfer of this important branch of nation-building to the control of the elected Ministers of the people. As has been already indicated in the course of this brief summary, the

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question of India's health really depends upon bringing into the lives of the people the results achieved by the research of those engaged in investigating the hygienic problems of the country. Among the particular advantages which, it is to be hoped, will ensue from the transfer of sanitation to popular control, may be reckoned the multiplication of those voluntary agencies which have already accomplished such invaluable work. Public Health Conferences have been held from time to time during the year 1920, and there are encouraging signs that the educated classes of India are rapidly awakening to the importance of the work which awaits them in this most important matter.

Closely connected with the problems of sanitation, many of which depend upon the domestic customs of the people, is the question of Social Reform.

Social Reform.

Probably in few spheres of human activity have the democratic ideals encouraged by the war period proved more beneficial than in the impetus afforded to social reform in India. Mention was made in last year's Report of some of the problems which there beset the path of democracy. These problems may broadly be said to centre round the institution of caste, which, intimately bound up as it is with the structure of Hindu society, presents an obstacle almost insuperable to an alien Government attempting to advocate modern ideas. There can be no doubt that a satisfactory advance towards remedying the evils in which the Indian social structure abounds can only be accomplished by Indian administrators. One clue to the magnitude of the task which confronts them may be derived from the fact that the existing social system has frequently been employed as an argument against India's claim to political concession.

The problem of the depressed classes.

Among the most difficult of the problems which await the social reformer in India is the elevation of the depressed classes. As a distinguished exponent of reform, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, said in the course of the year under review :—" With the liberalizing forces of the British Government, the problem is leaping into full light. Thanks to that Government, it has become more than ever before an all-India problem. The curse of untouchability prevails to this day in all parts of India. It is not mere untouchability. It is worse than that. While all of the depressed classes have been for centuries untouchable, some have been unshadowable, some unapproachable and some even unseeable by the higher castes, and this degradation has been imposed by these castes

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of Hindu society on one-fifth of the total population of their own country, race and creed—on 30 per cent. of the Hindu population of India. Out of every ten Hindus, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent humanity."

Early in 1920, the Commissioner of Labour in the Madras Presidency prepared a remarkable note on the depressed classes in that area. He pointed out that in no fewer than six districts of the Madras Presidency more than one person in every five is theoretically not allowed to come within a distance of 64 feet of the higher castes without pollution. The depressed classes fall into the three groups of aboriginal and hill tribes, criminal tribes, and untouchables. The raising of the first class presents considerable difficulties. Not only are the districts they inhabit extremely malarial and infested with wild beasts, but most of the hillmen carry battle axes which they are not afraid to use on provocation. The country is hardly opened up, and even when communications are improved and the danger from malaria diminished, the money lender, the drink seller and the litigant come in. But Government has been tackling the problem systematically. Co-operation properly supervised seems to present the most promising opportunities for the uplift of these people. A typical example both of the difficulties which beset the work and of the success which can be achieved is afforded by the case of the Chenchus, whose headquarters are in the hills of Kurnool. These hills contain the largest compact area of reserved forests in India, and under the original settlement the Chenchus are allowed privileges in regard to minor forest produce, grazing, hunting and other rights. They are supposed to be the hereditary keepers of the Srisalam temple and they levy a tax on pilgrims who go there through their jungles. They also claim fees for watching the crops in villages, which is in point of fact little better than blackmail. Carrying bows and arrows, they shoot at the slightest provocation, and are so elusive that in the tall grass of their jungles it is almost impossible to catch them. Lately a special officer with experience of criminal tribes has been endeavouring to civilize them by teaching them agriculture, by giving them work in splitting bamboos, by opening special schools for them and by looking after them when they are sick. He has gained their confidence in an extraordinary manner and his labours should ultimately bear fruit. Unfortunately the place is extremely malarious and his work has been continually hampered by irreconcileables who lead the young men astray

Depressed classes in Madras.

Hill tribes.

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into highway robbery and other crimes, often undoing in a day what it has taken him months to accomplish. But his hands are now to be strengthened to deal with the offenders, and it is hoped that the Chenchus may gradually be won from their wild life, and induced to earn an honest livelihood. It must not be supposed that the case of this tribe is an isolated one. In the majority of the provinces of India there exist territories inhabited by tribes whose methods of livelihood do not seem to have changed appreciably for many centuries; wild savages who have always preyed upon their more peaceful neighbours; who will remain a blot upon India's fair name, until they can acquire some rudiments of civilization.

Criminal tribes.

In the second category of the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency come the criminal tribes. It is rare to find a whole caste or tribe which has thieving as its chief profession, but sections of many tribes are hereditary thieves and even assassins. Government's work among the criminal tribes in Madras, as elsewhere, has been mainly directed to granting them land and establishing settlements which secure their economic freedom by making them independent of the necessity of earning their living by crime. Their children and younger members are educated and shown the advantages of a civilised life. The more reliable of the settlers are given work as wardens; and it is the policy of Government to exclude as far as possible the activities of the regular police from the settlement, as they are a continual reminder of the old criminal life of the tribe.

Panchamas.

The Madras Presidency includes no fewer than 6·5 million persons belonging to the untouchable class. Particularly on the west coast, some of the restrictions which encompass these unfortunates in their dealings with the higher castes are almost incredible. In nearly every village the public water supply is absolutely forbidden to a population which numbers one-sixth of the people of the Presidency. The report of the Madras Commissioner of Labour mentions that last year an English gentleman, while driving through a municipal town with a student, was surprised at a request from his neighbour that he might be allowed to get down and walk and join him later on. He was still more surprised to find from his companion that his reason for descending was that owing to his caste he was not allowed to pass through a particular street. Theoretically all Government offices are open to persons of every class and creed, but a rich and respected gentleman recently returned from abroad was

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made to go outside a certain public office when it was discovered that he was of a low caste. These extraordinary social restrictions, so it is related, operate so powerfully that on a respectable Panchama gentleman being appointed to a seat on a Municipality, five members, including a Muhammadan, immediately sent in their resignations and were with difficulty induced to withdraw them. The disability extends also to education. Though in theory all schools financed with public money are open to every class of the community, in practice there has been great difficulty in giving effect to this policy. The administration can legislate as much as it likes, but until the social sense of the community in general has advanced to a level which will enable it to disregard these heritages of a more primitive age, the disabilities under which the lower castes labour will persist. As has already been indicated, the disabilities extend at present to the minutest operations of daily life, and a labourer or small farmer belonging to the depressed classes is continually a loser in buying his ordinary purchases or in disposing of his produce, through his inability to enter a shop or even to pass through many of the streets where the shopkeepers live.

Education of depressed classes.

The most obvious method for the uplifting of the untouchables, as indeed of the other depressed classes of India, lies in education. In the last quarter of a century the number of Panchama pupils in public institutions of Madras has risen from 30,000 to well over 150,000 ; an increase of 400 per cent. It is moreover encouraging to notice that whereas in 1892 there were only eleven primary schools for girls of the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency, there are now 100. The work of the various Christian Missionary Societies in giving education to the Panchamas is beyond praise. They have now over 3,500 schools with nearly 100,000 pupils. The pioneer work of the missions has not been confined to the education of the depressed classes in their own schools. By resolutely insisting that members of the depressed classes should be admitted to higher educational institutions under mission control, they have gradually created a body of public opinion in favour of treating these classes as fellow human beings. Excellent work is now being carried on by a number of societies other than Christian. In Madras city, schools are maintained by the Theosophical Society, by the Depressed Classes Mission, by the Brahmo Samaj, by the Social Service League and by other religious and philanthropic societies. Concurrently with this educational progress, slow though it is among the depressed classes of the Madras Presidency, the co-operative move-

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ment, which teaches the Panchama the virtues of thrift and self-respect and gives him an ambition in life, has made rapid advance. There are now over 14,600 Panchama members of co-operative societies, nearly three times the number that existed five years ago.

In order to deal with the problem of the depressed classes and to carry out schemes for their betterment, the Madras Government has appointed a Commissioner of Labour, whose chief care it will be to see that their interests are advanced. Under his guidance, it is hoped, a large staff will be maintained to attend to such matters as the improvement of the water supply, the advance of education, the institution of co-operative societies, the improvement of housing conditions, the foundation of mission or co-operative colleges, and such similar means as may suggest themselves for the amelioration of the lot of these classes.

Progress elsewhere.

The manner in which the depressed classes problem is being tackled in the Madras Presidency is but typical of the efforts which are being made by the provincial Governments in other parts of India to deal with it, and it is encouraging to notice that public opinion among the educated classes, particularly in Northern India, is awakening rapidly to the necessity of taking energetic steps to cope with the evil. During the period under review, a large number of conferences have been held by the various societies which exist for fostering social reform; and a noteworthy feature of these conferences has been the decision to embark not only upon propaganda work with the object of arousing public opinion to a realisation of the problem, but also upon the formulation of practical schemes for the social amelioration of these helpless elements of the population.

The Indian peasant.

Nor is it merely among the depressed classes that a great work awaits the social reformer throughout India. The general condition of the peasantry up and down the country can only be described by saying that the average cultivator is poor and helpless to a degree to which Europe can afford little parallel. Ignorant and without resources, he is always liable to be oppressed by those richer or more influential than himself. Mention was made in last year's Report of certain settlement operations in Chota Nagpur, which have disclosed the fact that agricultural labourers in that region are not infrequently compelled in time of stress to mortgage their personal liberty. In return for a small sum of money, which they may happen to need at the moment, they agree to serve the individual from whom they have borrowed. The rule is that a man who has so bound himself gets from two to four rupees a year as pocket money and two

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pieces of cloth. His labour belongs to his creditor. The debt extends to the children, who remain bound till it has been discharged. There are therefore in Chota Nagpur people who have inherited servitude and who in turn have passed it on to their children, although slavery has long been illegal in India. During 1920 legislation has been undertaken with the object of terminating this inhuman system; but in the absence of informed and enlightened public opinion it is difficult to cope with abuses of this kind, which grow up, as it were, unperceived.

Self-help.

The year under review has been marked by an increasing amount of self-help on the part of the classes among whom social reform is gradually percolating. At the end of May an All-India Conference of the depressed classes was held at Nagpur, in which vehement protests were made against the humiliation to which these classes are subjected and a firm determination enunciated to be free from it at any cost. A notable feature of the gathering, which of itself suffices to lend it a unique character, was a strong expression of gratitude towards Government for its impartial treatment of all classes, combined with bitter criticism against the attitude of social intolerance assumed by certain members of the Nationalist Party. This growing class consciousness of the depressed castes in India is a feature which is full of hope; but if not properly guided it will cause anxiety in the future. In places where these classes have tangible economic grievances, the tendency to disorder resulting from the growth of class solidarity is marked. Reference has been made in another place to the increasing importance of the Tenants' Union movement in Northern India, which, if its direction should fall into unscrupulous hands, may easily lead to trouble of a serious kind throughout a large portion of the rural areas affected. On the whole, however, the tendency towards combination, whether for the formulation of grievances or for the initiation of collective bargaining, which has been a notable feature of the history of the poorer classes of India during the year under review, is as potent for good in rural areas as it is among the urban proletariat, in which sphere it is better known by the title of trades unionism.

Kisan Sabha movement.

Social reform among the Upper classes.

But the social problems of India are far from being confined to the lower classes. Among the middle and upper classes, the existing social life contains many features which are repugnant to the

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reformer. Denunciations, for example, of the seclusion of women behind the pardah frequently made their appearance in the public press during the year under review. Unfortunately, the voice of the reformer is too frequently that of one crying in the wilderness. The pardah system is considered fashionable, and no sooner does a class of society, which has not hitherto observed this custom, rise in the economic scale, than the seclusion of women is gradually introduced as being something which is a hall-mark of social rank and of "good form." Further, it is idle to deny that in many quarters there is to be found an opinion unfavourable to the education of women. In part this may be due more to the shortcomings of the education for which facilities now exist, than to any inherent antipathy to education itself. There can be little doubt that until women are allowed the same opportunities as men of mixing with the world around them, it will be difficult for them to achieve even the modest standard of literacy which characterises the male population. More detailed reference to this topic will be made later; and it is sufficient here to say that upon the education of Indian womanhood the nation's progress really depends. Fortunately there is a slowly growing body of upper class opinion against the seclusion of women, and ladies of rank are in many respects securing a certain degree of emancipation. To-day Hindu and Muslim ladies in increasing numbers are contenting themselves with wearing a long veil in public; and in political and social gatherings the proportion of seats reserved for women is increasing.

Emancipation of Women.

The same general remarks are applicable to the caste system. The vehemence with which it is denounced by social reformers shows no signs of diminishing; but bound up as it is with the very web and woof of the Hindu socio-religious structure, it may be doubted whether its hold over the community is weakening in essentials. There is indeed an obvious tendency towards its modification in directions where it threatens to conflict inconveniently with modern custom. For example, drugs, ice, mineral waters, biscuits, and certain other Western commodities are generally regarded as exempt from the ordinary restrictions which govern the taking of food. The growing habit of railway travel, which is increasing year by year, has in point of fact done something to modify those features of caste which threatened to interfere intolerably with modern conditions of life. But it would be unduly optimistic to assert that in its essentials the system shows any signs of breaking down. As an illustration of the tenacity with which it grips the

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imagination of the orthodox, it may be mentioned that even Mr. Gandhi incurred a good deal of obloquy in the course of the period under review, when he proposed to throw open his newly founded educational institutions to children belonging to the lower castes. Further, a modest Bill which was introduced into the Indian Legislative Council, with the object of making marriage between various castes permissible without imposing upon the contracting parties the necessity of renouncing their Hindu religion, excited an extraordinary volume of opposition in certain quarters, and its passage had to be postponed until such time as the new Indian Parliament should afford a more reliable index to the condition of public opinion than was provided by the old Legislative Council.

Progress during the year.

A general survey would seem to show that the year 1920 has not been devoid of encouraging symptoms. Much prominence has been given in the Indian Press to the utterances of social reformers; and an increasing amount of propaganda has been carried on both from the platform and in the newspapers. The beneficent activities of such societies as the Servants of India, the Seva Samiti, the Bengal Social Service League and other similar organisations have continued unceasingly; and the number of these organisations is increasing year by year. The activities of such societies include welfare work both in the towns and in the rural areas, relief work in times of public calamity from fire or flood, the imparting of sanitary education by leaflets and lectures, and the opening of schools. Among much work which is being done by voluntary agency of this type, mention may be made of the Bhagini Samaj. This society has been founded for a little over four years, and it has in Gujarat fifty centres, all occupied with female education and the elevation of the status of women. During the famine crisis of last year, the society carried on relief work in Kathiawar, visiting nearly 1,500 villages and affording relief to about 23,000 famine stricken persons. To the Western observer one of the most attractive features of the work of this and other societies is the unobtrusive and business-like manner, free from all parade and ostentation, in which it is being carried on.

From all that has been said in the preceding pages of this chapter, it will be realised that the uplift of the Indian people, economic, physical, and moral, really resolves itself into question of education. Without education, the labourer, whether rural or urban, will continue as at present poor and helpless, with little incentive to self-help. Without

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education, hygienic progress among the masses is impossible, and social reform a vain delusion. India's educational problems, framed as they are upon a Gargantuan scale, must find their solution writ proportionately large. Expenditure to a figure hitherto undreamed must be faced courageously and speedily. For without education, India will be confronted in no long time with that supreme peril of modern states, an uninformed democracy, omnipotent but irresponsible.

The educational position.

In the last two reviews of the Moral and Material Progress of India, emphasis was laid upon the unsatisfactory educational position. That situation may be described in a very few words. Although the year under review has witnessed an increase of over a quarter of a million in the number of pupils in British India, there are still only 8·2 millions in all the educational institutions put together. That is to say, only 3·36 per cent. of the population is under instruction, this figure being made up of 5·5 per cent. of the males and 1·2 per cent. of the females. And although expenditure has increased by 15 per cent., the total sum expended upon education in India during the year 1919-20 amounted to only £14·89 millions. About 2·5 per cent. of the population is enrolled in primary schools, and less than 3 per cent. is undergoing elementary instruction of any kind. In secondary schools on the other hand 0·5 per cent. of the population is under instruction, an abnormal figure comparing very remarkably with the 0·6 per cent. which has been estimated as the figure in Great Britain. Considering that the female population of the secondary schools is very small, it would seem that if the male population alone be reckoned, no less than 0·9 per cent. is found in the secondary schools—a proportion far greater than the corresponding figure for England and Wales, and approximately equal to that of Germany before the war. In University education, the percentage of the Indian population undergoing instruction is no less than 0·027 per cent., which, considering that here again the female population of India may be almost eliminated, compares remarkably well with the 0·054 of England and Wales. As was mentioned in last year's Report, an examination of the proportion of the college-going population to the total population of single tracts like Bengal, indicates that with a population approximately that of the United Kingdom, the proportion of the educated classes who are taking full-time university courses is in such tracts almost ten times as great as in England.

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Indian education top-heavy.

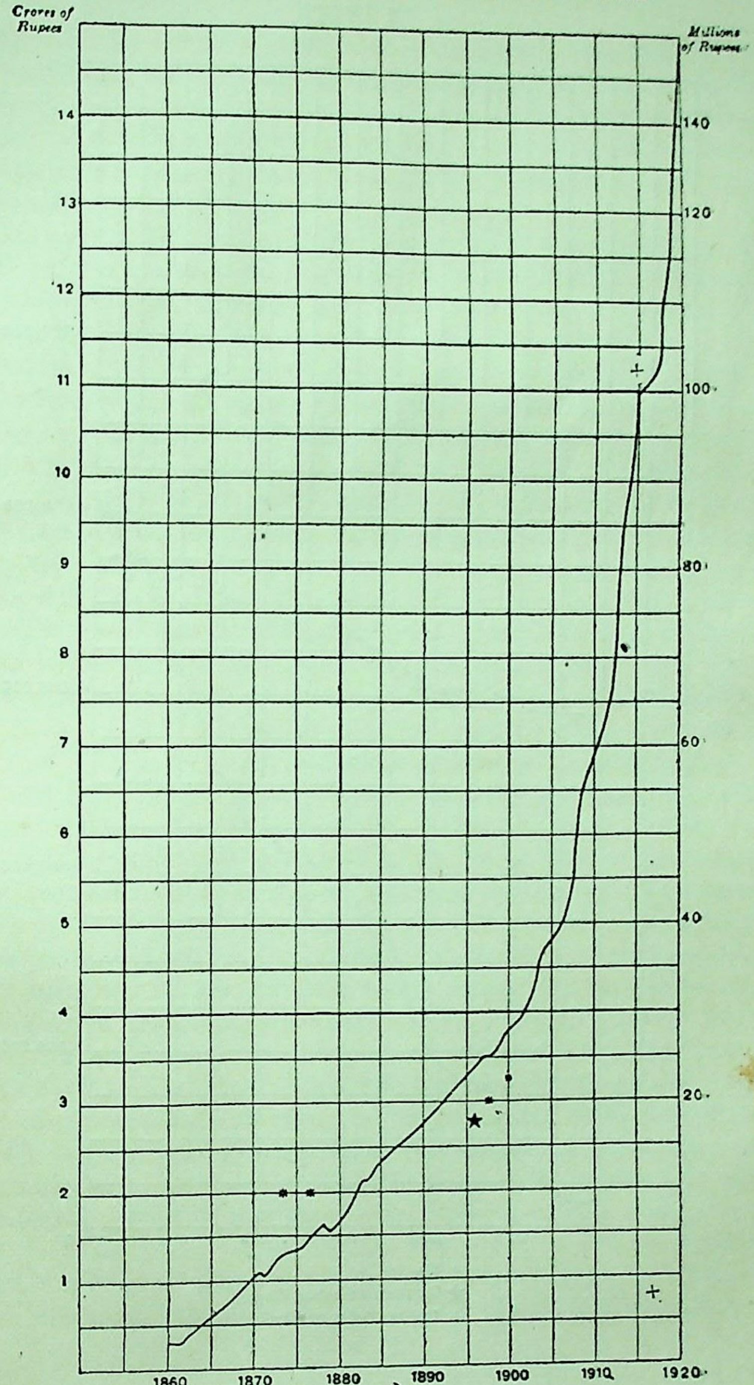
There are thus good grounds for the criticism, so frequently directed against Indian education in the press, that its structure is top-heavy. The lower classes are largely illiterate, while the middle classes who constitute the bulk of the *intelligentsia* are in point of numbers at least educated to a pitch equal to that of countries whose social and economic conditions are far more highly developed. The reasons for this peculiar situation must be sought in history; but in the main they resolve themselves into the statement that the total educational funds, being small, have come to be concentrated upon meeting the demand of those who perceive the benefits of education rather than upon cultivating a desire for education where it does not at present exist. As might be expected from the abnormal distribution of education among the population of India, the form which it has actually assumed, reveals corresponding defects. Since it has been framed primarily with a view to meeting the demands of the *intelligentsia* it is of a predominantly literary type. Only 0·05 per cent. of the population is undergoing instruction in professional colleges and other institutions which provide technical training, as against over 3 per cent. which is found in non-technical institutions. Up to the present time the courses which have been most popular among the middle class *intelligentsia* have been literary, because they lead to Government employment, and are a preliminary to the pursuit of the legal profession. Fortunately there are indications that public opinion is becoming alive to the necessity of encouraging technical education; and it is hoped that in the future there will be a much needed expansion in this direction. From the point of view of the educational expert there are three principal defects which determine the peculiar limitations of the Indian system.

Three principal defects.

In the first place, properly trained teachers are sadly to seek. Out of a total of 204,000 teachers of vernacular in India, only 70,000 were trained at the end of the official year 1919-20. In the Anglo-Vernacular schools, out of a total of 100,000 Anglo-Vernacular Teachers only 35,000 were trained, and only 11,000 possessed a degree. It is this condition of affairs which has produced a second defect in Indian education, namely that there is little incentive for men of the right sort to enter the teaching profession. Teachers are seriously handicapped by small salaries and less estimation, with the result that with honourable exceptions the profession is not popular among men of high capacity, and there are often obstacles preventing that enthusiasm which more favourable circumstances might

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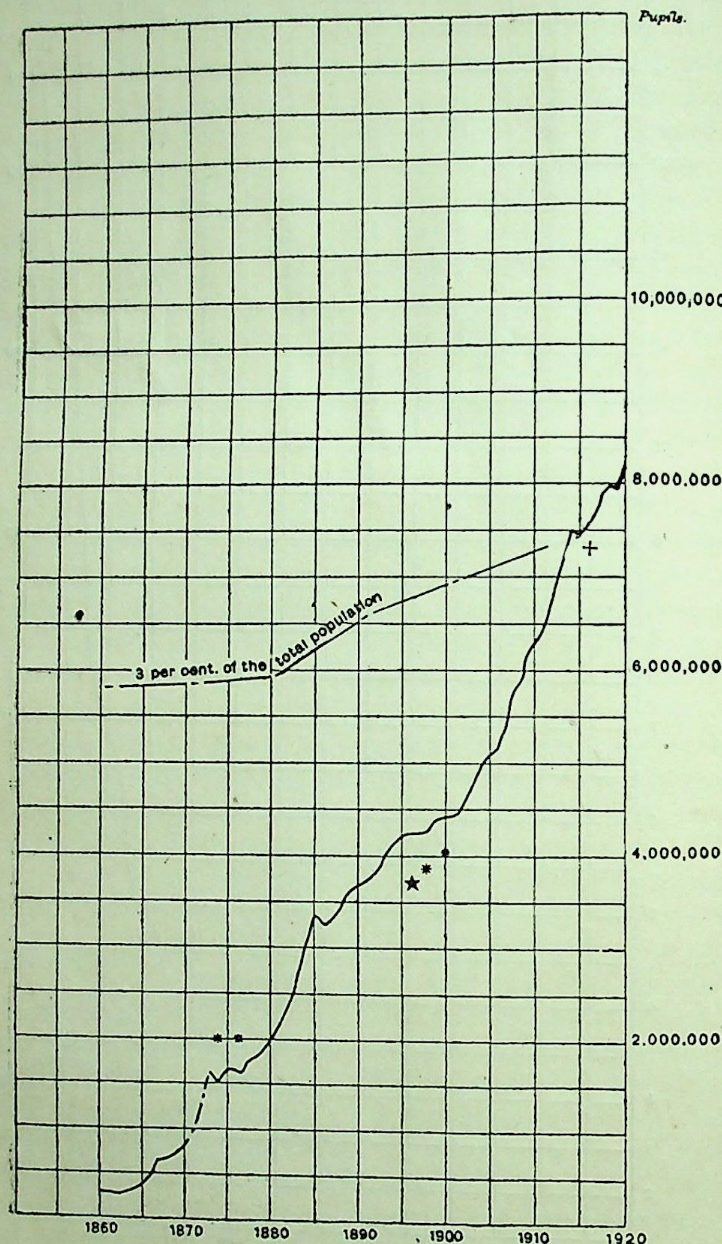
EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION IN INDIA.



* Famine.
★ Commencement of Plague.
\+ Indian States omitted.

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TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS UNDER INSTRUCTION IN INDIA.



* Famine.
★ Commencement of Plague.
+ Indian States omitted.

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evoke. In the third place Indian education has hitherto been dominated by an examination system. Fortunately, there is reason to hope that this particular difficulty, which has exercised a paralysing blight upon true educational progress for many years, may before long be remedied as a result of the salutary recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission.

As will be seen from this brief statement, the educational situation with which India is faced upon the eve of responsible government is extremely serious. The only method by which the ideal of nationhood can spread among her vast population, including as it does a multitude of diverse races, castes and creeds, is through a genuine system of national education, which shall enlist in the work of nation-building the generous emotions of Indian youth. Just as the United States of America has been compelled to direct her energies towards the "Americanisation" of the foreign elements which flock to her so readily, so on her own larger scale must India endeavour to focus towards a primary national ideal the secondary provincial ideals of various portions of her population. As has already been indicated, larger funds must at once be allocated to the work. For many years past, the demand for such allocation has figured prominently in the Indian press, but hitherto there has been little conception of the national sacrifice which is involved in the requisite effort. Out of her revenue of something over £180 millions, at the new ratio of the rupee, India is already spending £15 millions upon education, and inadequate as is this sum in proportion to the calls made upon it, it represents a fraction of her public resources which compares not unfavourably with that devoted by other countries to the same purpose. But India is a poor land, and the section of her small revenue available for education is inadequate to the demands made upon it. However it is not easy to see how the figure can be substantially increased. As was pointed out in previous reports, there are many heavy charges upon the resources of the country; of which the most important are the defence of a long land frontier and the maintenance of law and order among great masses of a widely varying population. Vital as educational progress may seem, its foundations will sink in shifting sand unless there are certain pre-requisites to its existence. The stability of the administration and the security of the individual, whether from external aggression or from internal disorder, must first be achieved. It is charges for these ends that have hitherto crippled the efforts of administrators to

Finance.

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set the educational structure of India upon a foundation sufficiently extensive for the requirements of the country. It is to be hoped that the Indian agencies henceforth in charge will be able to solve this problem. Conviction on their part of the necessity of a great educational campaign directed towards preaching the gospel of Indian nationhood, can alone awaken those upon whom the pecuniary sacrifices will fall to the benefits which will be derived both at the present and in the future from such a project. The difficulty lies not merely in the magnitude but also in the urgency of the problem. If the funds cannot be found and the educational structure of India cannot expand in proportion to her needs, the realisation of responsible government, with all which that realisation implies in the way of national progress, may be long delayed. Nor is it merely necessary to consider the population of school-going age, of whom at present roughly two-thirds never make their way into an educational institution of any kind. A very large part of the education needed in India is adult education—education which will supply the great new electorates with some guidance in the use of the power which constitutional reforms have placed in their hands; which will encourage them to effort on behalf of their own communities, and impel them to grapple with the poverty which now hangs like a miasma over so large a part of India. In this work, there is a great field for the university extension movement, which might well provide an agency for adult education upon a scale adequate to the requirements of the future. Some such solution of India's problems will unquestionably come in time, and with the rapid multiplication of new universities, of which an account will be given hereafter, its potentialities as a nation building force can with difficulty be overestimated.

Magnitude and urgency of the problem.

Adult education.

A study of the official figures for 1919-20 shows that the year under review has been one of steady progress. In this all classes of institutions have shared, the number attending colleges rising from 0·064 million to 0·066 million; while pupils in secondary schools have increased from 1·21 million to 1·28 million, and in primary schools from 5·9 millions to 6·1 millions. The percentage of the population under instruction varies in different parts of India from 4·75 in Burma, which has an advanced indigenous system*

Progress in 1920.

* The amount of education imparted in Burma is larger than that indicated in the official figures, on account of the existence of monastery schools.

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of education to 2·03 in the North-West Frontier Province. It may be mentioned in passing that education in this latter portion of the empire is attended by difficulties peculiarly its own: for example in the year under review, it was found necessary for the headmaster and the boarders of a Kohat school to suspend their studies for the purpose of defending their hostel against the attacks of a gang of trans-Frontier raiders. Madras, Bombay and Bengal come fairly close to Burma with percentages ranging from 4·48 to 4·18, Assam has 3·47 per cent. of her population under instruction, while figures for the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, range from 2·57 to 2·15. It is obvious from these percentages that the most pressing need of the moment is a rapid extension of primary education. At present primary education in India is not merely defective in quality but also unsatisfactory in results. The great majority of children attending primary schools learn to read and write for not more than three years, and on returning to agricultural pursuits soon forget these attainments. The only cure for this evil is the introduction of the compulsory system, under which children can be retained in school until the primary course has been completed.

Primary education.

Mention was made in last year's Report of the fact that the Government of India had been much occupied during 1918-19 with projects for securing this development. In the United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay, Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, Madras and the Central Provinces, primary education Acts now exist, which permit municipalities, and save in the case of Bombay and the United Provinces, District Boards, to impose the principle of compulsory education under certain conditions. In the United Provinces and in the Punjab, both of which areas have hitherto been particularly backward, a vigorous campaign for the extension of primary education has been inaugurated. In the former province, the local Government has taken full responsibility for finding the money required by the advance, which will, it is estimated, raise the recurring cost of education to half a million sterling within the next three years. In the first year of its existence the primary education programme has been instrumental in increasing the total number of primary schools from 11,500 to 13,500, while the number of boys under instruction rose by 11 per cent. A corresponding attempt to popularise primary education among Muhammadans has met with considerable success, the number of schools for boys of this section of the population having risen from 284 to 492. In the Punjab also, good progress is

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being made with the five-year programmes which have been completed by each District Board on the basis of its financial capacity. Government has pledged itself to meet a fixed proportion of the cost of a number of schemes, it being the declared aim of the administration to establish District Board schools at every centre where an average attendance of not less than 50 children may be expected. In Bombay, which is relatively forward in the sphere of primary education, it is hoped to open up primary schools first in every village with 1,000 inhabitants and secondly in every village containing more than 500 inhabitants. Important reforms have recently been inaugurated in the curricula for vernacular training; and nine more district training schools have been opened. Government has provided a notable encouragement to municipal effort in the direction of free education by promising to contribute half the cost. Several municipalities have already made primary education free, and four of them in addition have made it compulsory. Primary schools have increased by more than 700 in the course of the year under review, and the cadre of teachers has risen by 800 of whom 40 per cent. were trained. During the period under review, a Primary Education Act was passed for the Central Provinces, allowing compulsion to be introduced for both sexes between the age limits of 6 and 14. No fees are to be charged and the local authority of any area to which the Act has been applied will be responsible to any primary school maintained wholly out of provincial or local funds for any loss of income caused by the remission of fees. The Act has been completed by the provision of certain penalties for those who prevent children of the prescribed ages from attending school. In Madras also, the year witnessed the passage of an Elementary Education Bill, and the additional rules were so amended as to render compulsory the admission on half fees of poor pupils belonging to backward classes and communities. During the year under review, more than 500 elementary school buildings were constructed in this Presidency, and Government distributed nearly £90,000 among local bodies to enable them to pay increased salaries to their teachers. There was also an attempt, not unsuccessful, to extend elementary education among Muhammadans by introducing secular subjects into schools where hitherto only the Quran had been taught.

Expansion.

So far we have been dealing principally with the education of Indian boys. It now remains to consider the education of Indian girls. The problem of female education is beset by many difficulties. As was mentioned in last year's Report, rapid expansion depends first upon an

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adequate supply of competent women teachers, secondly upon devising a course that shall commend itself to conservative opinion which regards female education suspiciously; and thirdly, upon an alteration of the existing structure of education, which is unsuited to the needs of Indian women. The main difficulty remains, as hitherto, the lack of effective demand. During the last few years there has been a substantial improvement in the number of women under training, and in the provision of women's colleges. At the present moment in India there are 16 women's colleges and 118 training schools for women. Altogether there are a little over 1,200 women undergoing university education, and about 3,500 in training schools. It will be difficult to increase this number to any considerable degree throughout India at large until such institutions as pardah, early marriage and the like, can be modified by the growing enlightenment of public opinion. The importance of overcoming the existing female illiteracy is shown by the fact that throughout India only 1·38 million women and girls are under instruction of any kind.

Female education.

Female illiteracy constitutes a serious bar to educational progress, since with half the population growing up almost without education, the incentive to education in the other half must be appreciably lowered. Mention was made in last year's report of a resolution issued by the Government of India outlining the main difficulties to be overcome in this sphere and indicating the lines along which future expansion might proceed. The two principles which underlie the proposals of the Calcutta University Commission in regard to female education, namely, modification of the curriculum to suit the needs of different classes and the utilization of the advice of ladies in formulating a suitable scheme for instruction, have been accepted by the administration. Unfortunately, there is every reason to believe that public opinion is far from realising the importance of educating Indian womanhood. But now that the problems of education are made over to Indians for solution, it is to be hoped that means will be found to break down the apathy which has hitherto operated to hinder the expansion of female education. Only a great social change can call forth the teachers who are the primary requisite for such expansion. The Calcutta University Commission pointed out that peculiar difficulties and dangers surround young women who set out to teach in lonely village schools. "The fact has to be faced," the Commission reported, "that until men learn the rudiments of respect and chivalry towards

Female illiteracy.

Public opinion.

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women who are not living in Zenana, anything like a service of women teachers will be impossible." It will therefore be seen that the problem does not merely depend for its solution upon the good will of the administrators.

In the sphere of secondary education, the year was one of considerable progress, the number of secondary schools in British India increasing by more than 500 and now standing at the figure of 8,700. But the whole structure of secondary education in India is very unsatisfactory. As was pointed out by the Calcutta University Commission, this branch of educational work is of poor standard and badly regulated. The demand for it is almost inexhaustible and all efforts at reform seem at present to be swamped beneath an overwhelming supply of cheap and bad institutions. However inferior the education available may be, the proprietors of private schools are able to manage their institutions at the lowest limits of efficiency without fear of losing their pupils; and since the most necessary ingredients of education, as generally understood, namely, discipline, social life, good physical conditions and a reasonable standard of class work, are not demanded, they are not supplied. Public opinion does not often support the schoolmaster, and parents are only too ready to listen to any complaints of their children against strictness and discipline. As was pointed out in previous Reports, political agitation often occupies the minds of boys to an extent which tends to hinder true education; and during the last few years it has been found necessary in several provinces to issue orders prohibiting schoolboys from attending political meetings. On the whole, the main indictment against the structure of secondary education in India is that it has hitherto failed to equip those who undergo it for citizenship. Very largely on account of its intrinsic defects, every Indian boy who desires to obtain an education worthy of the name finds himself compelled to pass from the secondary school to the University, even though his aptitude and choice of future avocation do not in themselves fit him for university status at all. The reorganisation of secondary education in India is one of the first tasks which will await Indian Ministers. At present, the schools have no spiritual life which touches a boy's innermost being, and contain nothing which may satisfy his emotional desires. Since by far the largest proportion of the population of any country can scarcely, even under the most favourable circumstances, hope to pursue its formal education beyond the completion of the full secondary stage, it is of the first importance that the structure of secondary education should be sound and

Secondary education.

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well-balanced. Unless this is the case in India, the major portion even of those boys who pass through the full secondary course must necessarily enter the world with no training for citizenship, with unformed ideals and with no aspirations save those connected with personal gratification. The establishment of a new system is therefore urgently necessary; and if, as is devoutly to be hoped, it follows the lines laid down by the Calcutta University Commission, it will entail a remodelling of the existing departments of public instruction. The erection in the several provinces of Boards for Secondary and Intermediate education, representative not only of official, educational and sectarian interests, but also of industry, agriculture, medicine and the like, will be necessary before the structure of secondary education can be so framed as to support the responsibilities which will rest upon it for training in nationhood the future citizens of India.

New system wanted.

During the year under review considerable progress has been made in the reorganization of the Indian university system. Here an invaluable lead was supplied by the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, which advised the adoption of the centralized unitary university as the ideal for India. The essence of this system is the constitution of the university as a unitary teaching body, wherein all formal instruction is given by university officers under the direct control of university authorities, without the interposition of collegiate education between these authorities and the students. The contrast between this future university, arranged, as it may be hoped, upon a residential basis, and the existing university system of India, is most marked. Up to the present, as has been pointed out, the system in vogue in India has generally been that of affiliation. A university has hitherto consisted of scattered colleges, one often separated from another by hundreds of miles. With inadequate staff and meagre equipment, these colleges have in the majority of cases attempted to perform the function of miniature universities. The university itself has possessed merely a phantom existence as an examining and controlling body. In consequence, the university standard has been something external to the colleges, naturally therefore tending to lower itself to the capacity of the weakest institution. It is refreshing to record that during the year under review the transformation of the Indian university system has proceeded apace. The Dacca University Bill, which set up an organisation of the unitary residential type upon the model provided by

University education.

New Universities.

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the Calcutta University Commission, was passed into law in March 1920, and Mr. Hartog, a former member of the Sadler Commission, was appointed as the first Vice-Chancellor. Towards the end of the same year, a new university came into existence at Lucknow. The scheme has been framed in consultation with representatives of all shades of opinion, and save for a few minor deviations it follows closely the model of Dacca. Almost at the same time the great Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh was constituted into a University of the teaching and residential type. This institution promises to be of peculiar interest, providing as it does special facilities for the imparting of Muhammadan religious education and for the pursuit of Islamic studies. It represents a counterpart to the Hindu University at Benares, and, it is hoped, will offer, along with that institution, the opportunity of realising ideals of national education developed by indigenous agency. Yet a third university project came into existence at the close of the period under review. The Calcutta University Commission had cordially endorsed the projected establishment of a University at Rangoon, and although the institution as finally established did not coincide entirely with the model laid down by the Commissioners, it none the less reproduced its more essential features.

University reforms.

In addition to the establishment of these three Universities, much attention was directed during 1920 to the reform or creation of other institutions of the same grade. The Calcutta University, which from its size and congested condition presents a very difficult problem, still remained unreformed during the year 1920. The Government of India had invited the views of the University, and were prepared to introduce legislation, in which, however, the Secretary of State saw difficulties. It was therefore decided to carry out at once only that part of the Commission's recommendations which involved the transfer of control over the University from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal. Legislation to this end was passed in March 1921. It will now be for the Government of Bengal and the Bengal Legislature to consider what further steps should be taken. The project for a university at Nagpur in the Central Provinces continued to receive attention, and before long, it is hoped that the preparation of a university bill will be undertaken. Proposals have also been put forward for the establishment of a university at Delhi and a Committee has been appointed to work out the details of the scheme. A site has been reserved in the

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new imperial capital, and estimates for the buildings are now being prepared.

Turning to the special branches of educational work, we notice that Muhammadan education in India presents peculiar problems of its own, since it is necessary that every boy who undergoes educational training must spend a considerable time in religious instruction. This naturally reduces the period available for secular instruction. Generally apeaking, the community is backward as compared with the Hindus; but as a result of increased efforts both on its own part and on that of the administration, the percentage of Muhammadan pupils to pupils of other communities now bears almost the same proportion as do the Muhammadans themselves to the entire population. Greater appreciation among Muslim leaders of the necessity for increasing the educational level of their co-religionists is a most encouraging feature of the situation. Conferences have been held from time to time during the year under review with the object of awakening the interest of the community in educational problems, and directing attention to their shortcomings in this respect. A great impetus towards educational advance may confidently be expected to result from the erection of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh into a centralised residential university of the most modern type. In Bombay a scheme for a new government Muhammadan college is under contemplation. In the sphere of school education almost every provincial Government has shown considerable activity during the period under review. In the United Provinces, as already mentioned, special provision has been made in the primary education programme for the encouragement of Muhammadan schools; while in Madras two new training schools, one for masters and the other for women teachers, have been opened. There is still considerable leeway to make up almost everywhere in India, but it is reported that on the whole Muhammadan education is gaining ground in a very satisfactory manner.

Muhammadan education.

In the education of Europeans and of the domiciled community, progress continues to be made. As might be expected, in this sphere education does not suffer from many of those defects which have operated to cripple it in wider circles. The European and Anglo-Indian community is comparatively small, realises the necessity for education, and is prepared to pay for it. Towards the education of the domiciled community, a certain amount of State aid is necessary. This however is

European education.

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caused not by any unwillingness to recognise the advantages of education, but by sheer lack of the necessary resources. Indeed, redoubled efforts are being made by the Anglo-Indian community to acquire for its members an education which will fit them to hold their place in India under the new conditions. More than 60 per cent. of the cost of education in this branch is met from private resources. During the year under review progress has been made with a scheme for the establishment of a training college at Ootacamund, and a new college for European teachers is to be established at Sanawar in the Punjab.

Depressed classes.

Turning now to the education of backward and depressed classes, we have already noticed that some progress has been made in the admission of Panchamas into schools under public management in Madras; the total number of scholars belonging to this depressed class in public schools increasing by nearly 4,000 boys and more than 2,000 girls in the year under review. It is interesting to record that from many parts of India a general desire on the part of backward and depressed classes for education is reported; but it appears that the type of education now supplied does not always meet their demands. In Berar, for example, the backward classes appear to be recognising that the breakdown of social barriers is impossible until a more satisfactory level of economic equality with the superior classes has been established. Accordingly, they prefer to send their children for industrial training rather than for Anglo-Vernacular education—an interesting example of superiority to the prejudice under which many of the *intelligentsia* themselves still labour. Among aboriginals and criminal tribes, the Missionary societies and in particular the Salvation Army have continued to carry on admirable work. These private agencies have been particularly successful in dealing with children of the criminal tribes. There is still ample scope for further efforts, as may be gathered from the fact that only approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total criminal tribe population in India, reckoned at 4 millions, is at present under instruction. Of the aboriginal population which is reckoned at under 10 millions, approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is at school.

Technical education.

Technical education continues to occupy a large share of the attention both of Government and of the public. In consequence of the Industrial Commission, the control of technical and industrial education has now been turned over to the provincial departments of Industries. It is therefore in the records of the Provincial Governments that the progress of industrial education during the year under review is to be discovered. Public

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opinion is fully alive to the importance of increasing both the quantity and the quality of the facilities now available for training Indians in commercial pursuits. There are still only 82 colleges and schools of commerce in the country, with under 6,000 students. This number is plainly inadequate to the needs of a population so large as that of India, and the old difficulty of placing in suitable positions boys who have passed through institutions of this character is already rapidly disappearing. In the Punjab a good beginning has been made by the opening of a Government Institute of Commerce at Lahore, which is affiliated to the Punjab University and prepares students for a diploma. Doubtless owing to the reorganisation of control which has been undertaken during the year under review, the number of students in engineering colleges, of which there are only four in India, slightly decreased ; but it is satisfactory to notice that in the 17 schools of engineering which are scattered up and down the country the attendance of pupils increased from just over one thousand to over twelve hundred. A College of Engineering has recently been opened at the Benares Hindu University which promises to exercise a great influence in overcoming the hereditary distaste which many boys of the educated classes display to technical and manual pursuits. In future, the control of technical education will be vested in the popularly elected ministers, and it is to be hoped that the enthusiasm with which projects for the extension of this important branch are now everywhere greeted will translate itself into practical development.

Agricultural education.

For a very long time to come, the sphere of technical education which will be of the most immediate benefit to the people of India is agricultural education. In another place, mention has been made of some of the work done in the higher branches by the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa. We should notice that there are agricultural colleges in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Punjab, the Central Provinces and Bihar. Similar institutions are shortly to be opened in Bengal and Burma, where the need for them is already great. It is hoped that the scheme for an Agricultural Institute at Dacca in Bengal, which aims at affording a thorough practical training to young men who have already been through a course in pure science, will shortly be given a trial. In matters relating to agricultural education, it is interesting to note, Bombay is still ahead of other provinces so far as numbers are concerned. The Agricultural College at Poona is increasing its students, which now come not only from adjoining provinces and states, but from localities

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farther afield. Perhaps the best proof that this college is beginning to realise the aims of its designers lies in the fact that an increasing number of agricultural graduates now prefer to return to the land and put their knowledge to practical application, rather than to enter Government service. The majority of the agricultural colleges in India run two separate courses, a longer and a shorter, with the idea of attracting two distinct classes of people. The long courses are steadily increasing in popularity among the sons of landholders, who are beginning to consider the possibility of taking up agriculture as a profession. The shorter course, which is generally a vernacular course, is patronised principally by the sons of less wealthy men, who desire a certain amount of scientific training in order to obtain the best results from their own holdings. But in addition to the training given in the colleges, which, whether in the long or in the short course, is of a comparatively advanced nature, efforts have for some time been made to stimulate agricultural education of a more elementary type. In Bombay, for example, there are six vernacular agricultural schools, which are doing very useful work. This type of training has yet to commend itself to the people for whom it is primarily planned. The two new agricultural model schools, started in the Central Provinces, of which mention was made in last year's Report, did not prove much of an attraction to students belonging to the landholding classes. Enquiries seem to reveal that the curriculum followed was somewhat too technical for the taste of the people, who desire their sons to obtain rather a general education on a sufficiently broad basis than an education in which practically everything is taught with a strong bias towards agriculture. But the propaganda work of the Agricultural Department is producing every year a keener demand for manures, for improved implements and for scientific methods. As a result of this, the demand

Popular interest.

of the cultivating classes for an education which will enable their sons to apply effectively the results of agricultural research work, is steadily springing up. In rural elementary schools up and down India increased stress is being laid on the provision of elementary agricultural training. In the Punjab, the logical development of this idea has already been followed up, and teachers are being put through a practical course of agriculture at the Lyallpur College. It is also interesting to notice that a course of agricultural education for soldiers has been initiated at the Jullundur demonstration farm in the Punjab—a line of advance which promises to be of considerable importance in the future.

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CHAPTER VI.

Government and the People.

Hitherto, we have been dealing mainly with certain progressive activities upon which, in India as elsewhere, the prosperity of the country directly depends. We have now to consider very briefly those more primitive functions of the administration, apart from which stability and progress alike dissolve into a welter of anarchy. Of these functions, not the least important, and probably the most remarkable, is the maintenance of the public peace among the millions who inhabit British India.

Peace and order.

Some outline of the various difficulties encountered by the police in the course of their task of preserving law and order among a population of 240 millions, has been given in preceding Reports. In order to appreciate these difficulties, it must be remembered that the people of India are composed of races more diverse from one another in language, customs and physique, than any to be found included in the boundaries of Europe. While many are in a state of civilization which will bear comparison with that of any Western country, there are others who, habituated for centuries to a life of disorder, are only restrained by the strong arm of the administration from re-assuming their predatory habits at the expense of the peaceful and the progressive sections of the population. It is not therefore surprising to find that in the course of any given twelve months, the tasks which have to be undertaken by the Indian Police include many which might well seem characteristic of widely separated centuries in the history of Europe. At the one extreme, there comes the prevention of reckless driving on the part of chauffeurs in the highly westernised cities of Calcutta, Madras or Rangoon; while at the other there comes the task of dealing with free-booting bands in the tropical jungles of Burma. Between the

Difficulties of the Indian Police.

two are the intermittent religious riots, which almost every year convulse for a few days rural or urban populations of normally peaceful character; recurrent highway robberies by gangs of bandits; and peasant mass movements similar in many respects to those which

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characterised certain periods of European history during the Middle Ages. Throughout the whole of British India the total strength of the civil police is just over 1,000 officers of the rank of Deputy Superintendent, and of higher grades, and some 202,000 officers and men of the lower ranks. In addition to these there are some 30,000 officers and men of the Military Police, of whom more than half belong to Burma.

During the year under review, there have been consistent efforts on the part of the administration to improve the pay and prospects of the Indian Police. As may be gathered from the multifarious nature of their duties, it is extremely important that even the subordinate ranks should recruit men of the right stamp to perform the difficult and responsible task of safeguarding public peace. Accordingly, schemes for providing the rank and file with suitable accommodation, for maintaining a more adequate reserve to enable leave to be granted more freely, and for increasing the rewards for good service, have been put into operation almost everywhere in India. Two years ago, the shortage of men was causing serious anxiety to the authorities; for small pay, heavy work and difficulty of obtaining leave, discouraged many suitable men from joining the service. But as a result of the improvements above mentioned, the police cadres are now beginning to fill up. Discipline shows steady signs of improvement and departmental punishments are on the decline. But the average annual cost of the policeman throughout India is still only £35 per man, including officers; which means that the cost of police protection is something like 7*d* per head of the population. It cannot therefore be surprising that the police system in general, while extremely efficient in proportion to the money spent upon it, does not yet attain the level of the corresponding force in England.

Upon the possibility of recruiting men of the right stamp and placing them in a position of comparative immunity from the many special temptations with which their work is beset, depends the problem of rehabilitating the police in the eyes of the educated public in India. At present, only just over half the policemen of India can read and write, and until the force in other provinces can be brought up to the 91 per cent. standard of literacy that exists in Madras, it will be difficult to expect a much higher standard of efficiency than at present exists. It must be remembered that the variety of work which the Indian police are called upon to perform, and the different classes of criminals with whom they are compelled to deal, makes it extremely difficult for them to satisfy their

Efficiency of the Police.

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somewhat exacting critics. The methods which are not only desirable but even essential when applied to the suppression of highway robbery, naturally cause deep resentment when applied a few miles away to a highly educated town population, accustomed to all the amenities of twentieth century existence, and intensely resentful of anything approaching high-handedness on the part of the police. The difficult position of the force has not been eased of late by the tense atmosphere of excitement which has pervaded the politically minded classes in India. The police, being that arm of the administration with which the average citizen is brought most closely into contact, have to bear the brunt of any general unpopularity which the administration as a whole has gained for itself. Accordingly, therefore, the offences of the individual policeman are widely advertised and consistently exaggerated, while the general good work of the force is too often passed over in silence. Public opinion still tends to look upon the policeman as the symbol of oppression and restraint. This is in part due to his function of maintaining order in times of political excitement, of arresting political leaders who have over-stepped the limits laid down by law, and of conducting enquiries regarding alleged sedition. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that there still exists a small but steadily decreasing amount of corruption among low paid subordinates, who are exposed to temptation of every kind. The inherited tradition which identifies executive authority with arbitrary power, and refuses to believe that repression may spring from honest striving after public good, is also a factor in the unpopularity of the police. It is however satisfactory to notice in this Report, as in last year's, a steady decrease in the volume of complaints of individual high-handedness brought against the police by the vocal section of Indian opinion. During the year 1920 there has been in most parts of India a steadily growing measure of co-operation between the police and the public. This may be taken to indicate an increasing appreciation on the part of the public at large of the difficulties and the responsibilities of those whose duty it is to maintain the peace. It is hardly necessary to point out how salutary will be the effect of this growth of responsibility on the part of the Indian community at large. So long as the police were isolated from the public in their fight against the forces of disorder, it was difficult to see how the policeman could ever become in India, what he has for so long been in England, the friend and servant of the individual citizen. But the dissipation of the suspicion

The Force in the Public eye.

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with which the police are encompassed is a slow business. A disquieting feature of their present position is the practice, more common perhaps in India than in other parts of the Empire, of bringing false charges against them. It may be mentioned that in Bengal alone, in the course of twelve months, no fewer than 33 civil suits which were proved to be false were brought against members of the police; while of nearly 600 criminal complaints preferred against them by private individuals, over 430 ended in acquittal or discharge. This, as was pointed out by Lord Ronaldshay when commenting upon it, affords a clear proof that the great majority of these suits were brought out of malice.

Difficulties of the period.

During the year 1920, the police system of India has been exposed to a strain which, if less severe than that of the year 1919, was none the less very considerable. As was mentioned in last year's Report, it is a general axiom of administration in India that crime tends to rise in direct proportion to the severity of economic stress. Now during the major portion of the year under review, the good monsoon of 1919 and the high prices of agricultural produce tended to decrease substantially such crimes as highway robbery. There was a comparative absence also of food riots and market looting, which are a frequent cause of disorder when harvests are bad. But throughout rural India, there has been a considerable amount of agitation, not always free from disorder. In the United Provinces and Bihar, in particular, the peasants, who have for long possessed their own definite grievances, have, as already mentioned, organised themselves in several districts into Tenants' Unions. Occasionally, under the influence of bad advice either from a political agitator or a Utopian visionary, the peaceful activities of these unions have temporarily transmuted themselves into violence. Certain leaders of the non-co-operation movement, finding that their success among the educated classes was problematical, have turned their attention to exciting ignorant peasants, already sufficiently restive under grievances of their own. Towards the close of the period under review, a serious situation arose in Partabgarh (Oudh), where some thousands of peasants, exasperated by restraints placed upon certain leaders coming into the District from outside,—leaders who, the local authorities feared, were inciting to a breach of the peace—began to loot and rob. The police behaved with great restraint, but were ultimately compelled to fire, inflicting a few casualties. As must unfortunately be the case

Agrarian trouble.

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in India, exaggerated and misleading accounts of the incident were current in certain of the less reputable newspapers, with the result that a fresh count was added to the long indictment against the police which exists in the minds of many Indians. It has already been hinted that the popular conception of the character of the police in India is such as to make it possible, in theory at least, to bring almost any charge against them with the certainty of it being believed by some sections at least of public opinion. A curious example of this occurred in the Champaran district of Bihar in November, where the looting of certain villages by the population of certain other villages was without the slightest apparent justification laid to the door of the police. Unfortunately in this case, as in others, the persons who framed vague accusations without any attempt to verify the facts can with difficulty be induced to make such reparation as is in their power by publicly withdrawing charges even when they have been proved baseless. Even the arrest, in the same Partabgarh District to which reference was made above, of a notorious bad character who had been terrorising the neighbourhood by his depredations, was distorted by a section of the press of the United Provinces into an accusation that the police were persecuting worthy citizens for no better reason than that they had joined the Tenants' Union.

Dacoity.

During the year 1920, considerable progress has been made in the suppression of gang-robbery, which is generally so formidable in the United and the Central Provinces. It was mentioned in the Report for 1919 that there had been regular pitched battles in that area between the police and bands of robbers. The difficulty of suppressing these dacoits is always increased by the fact that they terrorise the villagers by cruelties so atrocious that few or none can be found to give evidence against them. But during the year under review both in the United Provinces and in the Central Provinces, the police definitely gained the upper hand over the gangs. Individual acts of great gallantry on the part of the force have contributed largely to this success, and the increasing resistance offered by villagers when attacked by brigands is a symptom of their growing confidence in the strength of the forces of law and order. But no little credit for the triumph of the police over this particular form of crime must be ascribed to the hearty co-operation of the authorities of the Indian States. Formerly one of the most formidable obstacles to the suppression of gang robbery consisted in the fact that the robbers, after committing their depredations, would scatter themselves over

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a wide area, ultimately taking refuge beyond the borders of the nearest Indian State. But in the year 1920, both in the United Provinces and in the Central Provinces, the authorities of particular States have co-operated most heartily in bringing such activities to a close. Particular mention may be made of the action taken by the State of Gwalior under the personal supervision of His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia himself, which resulted in the arrest and conviction of no fewer than 105 robbers.

Urban crime.

So far as urban crime is concerned, the year 1920 has been for the police a heavy one. In the middle of the year there was a remarkable outbreak of hooliganism in Calcutta which caused the greatest consternation to peaceful citizens. Bands of *Gundas* or professional bravos armed with bludgeons, mainly hailing from provinces outside Bengal, terrorised thronged localities in Calcutta, robbing and beating peaceful citizens and severely handling such police as ventured to interfere with them. The outbreak finally culminated in the murder, by a band of these hooligans, of a rich and respected citizen of Calcutta, who had ventured to remonstrate with them for singing obscene songs in front of his house. Public opinion being aroused, it was possible for the police to deal with the outbreak in a firm and thorough-going manner, with the result that by the end of the period under review, the trouble had to a great extent disappeared.

Religious disturbances.

Religious disturbances unfortunately made their appearance once more in the course of the year 1920. In southern India there were serious religious riots at Nellore, and in northern India at Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, and Pilibhit. In several cases, these riots occurred on account of the passage of a Hindu procession in front of a mosque. In Agra, it may be noticed, the well meant efforts on the part of the leaders of the Hindu and the Muslim community to avoid a clash during the coincidence of a local swimming fair with the great Muhammadan season of Moharram, broke down, with the result that 25 men were injured and the police were compelled to disperse the rioters. In Rangoon also there were serious cow-killing riots, which resulted in the injury of several Muhammadans.

Labour troubles.

The serious and prolonged epidemic of strikes to which reference has been made elsewhere, threw an additionally heavy burden upon the police throughout the whole of the year 1920. The duty of maintaining order among a crowd of many thousand excited and angry strikers is no lighter in

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India than elsewhere ; and it must be ascribed to their tactful handling of various difficult situations that the occasions upon which the police were compelled to open fire were few. In no case was firing resorted to save under the strain of persistent stone throwing, which threatened to overwhelm the small parties of police available. None the less the mere fact that firing took place at all did not fail to arouse considerable comment on the part of the thinking public of India. There is reason to believe that strenuous efforts will be made in the future to limit recourse to this drastic step even more narrowly than is the case at present. One difficulty of the situation arises from the fact that Indian mobs are frequently armed with heavy bludgeons, of a type with which mobs in Western countries are fortunately unfamiliar. In combination with stone throwing, the employment of these bludgeons by a mob renders its dispersal much more difficult by the ordinary tactics of a baton charge than would be the case under corresponding circumstances in Europe or America.

Decline of anarchy.

It is encouraging to find that during the year 1920, anarchical crime has still further declined. There is every reason to hope, indeed, that with the increasingly rapid advance of India towards self-governing institutions, the party which hopes to attain self-government by violent ends will steadily disappear. The spirit of the time has indeed changed greatly, and young idealists, similar to those who all too often represented the flower of youthful patriotism in Bengal, can now find an outlet for their energies which is more profitable at once for India and for themselves than the pursuit of anarchical crime. That the party of anarchy is still alive, is unfortunately proved by the occurrence of certain robberies with political motives during the period under review. But it must be plain that these crimes, regrettable though they are, represent a considerable improvement upon the condition of affairs indicated by the Mainpuri conspiracy case of which mention was made in last year's Report. The steady growth of effective public opinion against enterprises of this kind is perhaps even more responsible for their suppression than the devoted activities of the Criminal Intelligence Department. The ready help which was afforded during the year under review by multitudes of peacefully disposed persons in bringing dangerous criminals to justice, serves to indicate a development which is full of promise for the near future.

It may be noted in passing that the central offices of the Criminal Intelligence Department in India are now equipped with scientific

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apparatus which facilitates the employment of the latest resources of detection for the confusion of the criminal. As an illustration mention may be made of the work which is done by the Government Examiner of Questioned Documents, Mr. F. Brewester. Photography plays an important part in the examination of documents with a view to determining their genuineness. The Government Examiner has at his disposal a well equipped laboratory completely equipped with up-to-date scientific appliances. He has to deal with references of various kinds in a great variety of languages from all parts of India and Burma, as well as from such distant points as Shanghai, Baghdad, Mombassa and Ceylon. In consequence of the large tract of country from which references are received, the variety of work is very great. Probably in no other country do the same facilities exist for the study of questioned documents. As an example of the kind of scientific detection work which is handled by this office, mention may be made of a case concerning an elected Member of an Indian Council, who was sought to be unseated on the allegation of having signed a typewritten letter, which, if genuine, rendered him entirely unfit for participation in any public body. But the identification of particular typewriting machines is now a matter of scientific certainty, and it was proved conclusively that the letter was not typed on any machine to which the Member in question could possibly have had access. Another interesting case is connected with a recent election petition. The genuineness of the nomination paper depended upon whether a signature was placed upon a thumb impression, or *vice versâ*. It was satisfactorily proved by the Government Examiner that the signature had been written first and the thumb impression placed upon the paper afterwards. Many other instances might be given as to the utility of this interesting branch of detection; but enough has been said to indicate that the Indian Police authorities have at their disposal methods and facilities which may challenge comparison with those in use in other countries.

Examination of questioned documents.

The detection of the criminal is a necessary preliminary to his incarceration. The jail remains in India as elsewhere a necessary part of the machinery by which society secures its own protection.

The Indian jail system.

Mention was made in last year's Report of approaching changes in the Indian jail system. At present, mainly on account of the great size of the Indian continent, jail management is conducted by local Governments in widely

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different fashion. There is too little inter-communication between the agencies responsible for this work in the different provinces, which are thereby to some extent deprived of the benefit which they would otherwise derive from pooling their experience. To a considerable degree, uniformity of procedure in all provinces is not merely undesirable but also impossible, on account of varying conditions. But there is reason to think that certain general principles governing the treatment of criminals might receive more extended application throughout India than is at present the case. Accordingly as was mentioned in "India in 1919" a Committee was appointed to investigate the whole question of prison administration with the object of applying to the system at present in existence in India the most valuable of the experience which has resulted from western progress. This Committee visited many prisons and industrial and reformatory schools in Great Britain, in addition to touring in the United States, Japan, the Philippine Islands and Hongkong. Their work came to an end in the summer of 1920, when after an extensive investigation of prison conditions in India and Burma and a lengthy visit to the Andamans, their report was placed in the hands of the Government of India. This report is the first general survey of Indian prison administration that has been made for thirty years, and contains many recommendations which are likely to have a far-reaching effect. Published just subsequent to the close of the period under review, it is at present under consideration, and already an official announcement has been made that one of the most important of its recommendations, the progressive abandonment of the Penal Settlement in the Andamans, has been accepted by Government. In general, it may be said that the Report lays stress upon the necessity of improving and increasing the existing accommodation; of recruiting a better class of warders: of providing education for prisoners: and of so shaping prison industries as to meet the needs of consuming departments of Government. It recommends the creation of children's courts: the adoption of the English system of release on license for adolescents, and the separation of civil from criminal offences.

The Jails Committee.

The Report.

While there are grounds for supposing that the administration of Indian jails has a good deal to learn from improvements which have been introduced of recent years into Western countries, it would be a mistake to imagine that many of the problems which the Indian Jails Committee has been asked to investigate have not for many years been

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the subject of study in India. Here as elsewhere increasing attention is now paid to the ameliorative treatment of criminals, and to the possibility of reclaiming them for decent society. Much progress in this direction has been made; and prisoners are now taught useful trades which will enable them on their release to earn an honest livelihood. This is simplified by the fact that by far the largest proportion of prisoners—some 100,000 out of an average daily prison population of less than 127,000—come from the agricultural community. The experiment is now being tried of teaching these men the latest agricultural improvements under the supervision of the local agricultural department. Classes of prisoners are taken round the various fields of demonstration farms, and jail farms now exist in many places. It is hardly necessary to point out that jail industries of various kinds such as printing, oil-pressing, brick and tile making, carpet making, paper making and weaving have long been carried on with success and have now attained a development which enables them to pay some portion of the expense of the whole system. During the year 1919, for example, £250,000 out of a total cost of £1,500,000 was paid by the earnings of the prisoners themselves. It is hoped that with the increasing development of jail industries, this proportion will be considerably enlarged.

Recent development.

The treatment of youthful prisoners in India follows the lines now laid down by modern administrations in other parts of the world. The Borstal system is flourishing in two provinces, and excellent work is being done by the boys in the industrial classes. The provision of sound industrial training for youthful prisoners and their segregation from hardened offenders, is of course a generally accepted policy. But in India as elsewhere, the ultimate success of any movement for reclaiming prisoners, whether youthful or adult, must remain in the hands of the general public. Valuable work is now being done in caring for discharged prisoners by the voluntary welfare organizations which exist in various parts of India. The Salvation Army, in India as elsewhere, makes a special point of caring for discharged prisoners and providing a respectable livelihood for men conditionally released. In Bombay and in several other large centres the Released Prisoners Aid Society is performing a valuable function; and during the year under review, efforts were made to inaugurate a Prisoners Aid Society in Madras. But all that is at present accomplished by such voluntary organizations

Welfare work.

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is a mere fraction of what might be done for the reclamation of released prisoners; and if only the general public can be sufficiently interested in this most important social question, the progress in the near future may be expected to be more satisfactory.

From this brief consideration of the machinery which aims at the preservation of law and order, we turn to a survey of the field which exists for the cultivation of those positive virtues of citizenship, apart from which any community, however law-abiding, must remain apathetic and lifeless.

Local Self-Government.

As to the importance of the part to be played by local self-government in India today, there can be no two opinions. It is in this sphere, and in this sphere alone, that administrative experience and communal ideals can be implanted in the population at large; but probably in no other branch of civic activity is the contrast between India and progressive countries at present so marked. In Europe and in America, institutions of self-government are planted deep in the consciousness of the people, and upon them the fabric of nationhood has been solidly erected. In India the situation is different. The ideal of nationhood is, it is true, making its way in an ever-increasing degree among the educated classes; but it has yet to penetrate into the masses of the population. Until communal ideals and the civic spirit can be instilled into the Indian masses, it will be impossible to achieve that concentration upon national ends, as envisaged first through realisation of local needs, without which complete nationhood cannot exist.

It is only just to say that the disappointing history of local self-government during the last 25 years is not altogether to be explained by the apathy of those among whom it has been artificially implanted. Historically speaking, the institutions of local self-government in their present form are a creation of the British rule; but there is no doubt that for centuries prior to the foundation of that rule, indigenous institutions framed for ends not dissimilar both existed and worked. During the anarchy of the 18th century, they were in a large measure destroyed by the prevailing system of military despotism; and in the period of re-creation for which the 19th century stood, their submerged foundations were not utilised to the best possible advantage by British administrators. Hence it is that the existing institutions of local self-

Reasons for present shortcomings.

government are to a considerable degree alien from the spirit of the people, and although they are striking their roots more deeply year

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by year, it is unfair to expect very rapid progress. Moreover, for the last 25 years they have been administered very largely by highly competent official agency, able and willing to relieve the non-official members of such small responsibilities as were actually allotted to them. In consequence, the institutions of local self-government in India have in large measure failed to enlist the services of that class of public-spirited men, conscious of their ability to wield power when it is entrusted to them, upon which the system depends so largely for its success in England and America. It is much to be hoped that the transfer of local self-government to Ministers elected by the people will result in a transformation of the spirit which now exists. Until this can be accomplished, progress is bound to remain disappointingly slow. Up to the present, it is not unfair to say, municipalities and district boards have proved themselves apathetic because the powers entrusted to them have been as a rule insignificant. These powers have continued insignificant because of the apathy and lack of public spirit of the members. A vicious circle has thus been created, which has only broken down within the last three or four years through a determination on the part of Government to entrust larger powers to these institutions and to confer upon their members a degree of responsibility which must necessarily rouse them from the apathy in which they have too long remained.

Progress in 1920.

A brief survey of the progress of municipalities and district boards during the period under review will clearly reveal, first, the gradual awakening of a new spirit in response to the altered policy of the administration; and secondly, the amount of leeway which has to be made up before the institutions of local self-government in India can range themselves on a footing equal to that of corresponding institutions in the west.

Municipalities.

Taking first municipalities, it is to be noticed that there are some 730 municipalities in British India, with something under 18 million people resident within their limits. Of these municipalities roughly 530 have a population of less than 20,000 persons and the remainder a population of 20,000 and over. As compared with the total population of particular provinces, the population resident within municipal limits is largest in Bombay, where it amounts to 17 per cent., and is smallest in Assam where it amounts to only 2 per cent. In other provinces it varies from 3 to 9 per cent. of the total population. Turning to the composition of the municipalities we find that considerably more than half of the

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total members are elected. *Ex-officio* members are roughly 13 per cent. and nominated 32 per cent. Elected members are almost everywhere in a majority. Taking all municipalities together, the non-officials outnumber the officials by nearly five to one. The functions of municipalities are classed under the heads of Public Safety, Health, Convenience and Instruction. For the discharge of these responsibilities, there is a municipal income of just under £10·6 millions, two-thirds of which is derived from taxation and the remainder from municipal property, contributions from provincial revenues and miscellaneous sources. Generally speaking, the income of municipalities is small, the four cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon together providing nearly 38 per cent. of the total. The average income of all municipalities other than the four mentioned above is only some £9,000. The total expenditure of municipalities excluding that debited to the head "extraordinary and debt" amounted in 1918-19 to £9·9 millions. The heaviest items of this expenditure come under the heads of "Conservancy" and "Public Works," which amount to 17 per cent. and 15 per cent. respectively. "Water Supply" comes to 8 per cent., "Drainage" roughly to 6 per cent., and "Education" to no more than 7·6 per cent. In some localities the expenditure on education is considerably in excess of the average. In the Bombay Presidency, excluding Bombay city, for example, the expenditure on education amounts to more than 18 per cent. of the total funds, while in Central Provinces and Berar it is over 15 per cent.

District Board.

In view of the fact that only 10 per cent. of the population of British India lives in towns, municipal administration, however efficient, cannot affect in any large degree the great mass of the people. Hence it is that particular importance attaches in India to the working and constitution of the district boards, which perform in rural areas those functions which in urban areas are assigned to the municipalities. In almost every district of British India there is a board, subordinate to which are two or more sub-district boards, while in Bengal, Madras and Bihar and Orissa, there are also Union Committees. Throughout India at large there are some 200 district boards with roughly 550 sub-district boards subordinate to them. There are also more than 850 Union Committees. This machinery has jurisdiction over a population which was some 212 millions in 1918-19. Leaving aside for one moment the Union Committees, we see that the members of the Boards numbered more than 13,000 in 1918-19, of whom 52 per cent. were elected. During

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the year under review, as will be seen later, the tendency has been throughout India to increase the elected members of the district boards at the expense of the nominated and the official members. It should be remembered that the boards are practically manned by Indians who constitute 94 per cent. of the whole membership. Only 19 per cent. of the total members of all boards are officials of any kind. The total income of the Boards in 1918-19—the latest figures available at the moment of writing—amounted to £8·7 millions, the average income of each district board together with its subordinate boards being £47,000. The most important item of revenue is provincial rates, which represent a proportion of the total income varying from 20 per cent. in the Central Provinces to 58 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa. This income is mainly expended upon civil works, such as roads and bridges (£3·6 millions) the other principal objects of expenditure being education (£2·3 millions medical and sanitary works (£0·8 millions) and general administration.

One interesting feature of the year under review has been the marked activity displayed by the great cities of British India in the direction of civic improvement. Mention has been made in other parts of this Report of the beneficent activities of the Improvement Trusts of Bombay and Calcutta in ameliorating the conditions under which the masses live. Particular attention has been paid in both places to the housing problem, which indeed cries aloud for urgent solution. Development Commissioners, called trustees, have been appointed with the object of accelerating the work of the trusts; the funds available, which have during the year under review been augmented by civic loans, are very large. In refreshing contrast with the apathy and poverty of the municipal administration of many up-country towns, stands the well directed activity and continuous response to public interest of the municipalities in the great cities. Improvement Trusts have recently been constituted in Cawnpore and Lucknow in the United Provinces; important schemes have been sanctioned and are in the course of execution. These projects, however, are naturally of less magnitude than the operations of the Trusts of Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon, the cost of which runs into millions sterling. The scheme, for example, which has now been projected for the reclamation of Back Bay in Bombay will challenge comparison, both in its magnitude and in the results which its success may achieve, with municipal operations almost anywhere else in the world. In the case of Calcutta, the clearing of congested districts, the development of suburban areas, and the institution of far-reaching

Civic improvement.

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drainage schemes, indicate a breadth of vision and command over resources which would be a source of pride to the inhabitants of any city within the British Empire.

It has already been indicated that only in the largest towns do the institutions of local self-government work in a manner comparable with those of the west. Some reasons for the unsatisfactory nature of the work of the smaller municipalities have already been mentioned; and the shortcomings of the system have for some time attracted the serious notice of the administration. It will be remembered that reference was made in the Report upon the Progress of India in 1917-18 to a comprehensive Resolution of the Government of India, the aim of which was to lay down the lines of a policy along which the future development of municipal self-government might proceed. The importance of this Resolution lay in the fact that it placed in the forefront of the objects of self-government, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs; and laid down in clear-cut form the doctrine that political education must take precedence over departmental efficiency. In consequence of the stimulus which has been afforded by this Resolution, the general relaxation of Governmental control over local bodies is steadily proceeding, and during the period under review there have been notable signs that the additional responsibility thrown upon members both of the municipalities and the district boards is inducing them to take a greater interest in their work. In Bengal there are 115 municipalities outside Calcutta, and the interest taken in civic affairs continues to increase. In most towns the ordinary municipal services are moderately efficient. On the other hand, only 46 of these municipalities have an income of over £3,000 a year, while 26 have actually to carry on their work on less than £1,000 a year. Considering that the total municipal population, leaving Calcutta out of consideration, is some 2 millions, calculation shows that the expenses of municipal administration amount only to some seven shillings per head of the population. Roads and public works, conservancy, water supply and general administration consume more than half the total revenue, and the remainder has to carry the charges for education, medical relief, sanitation and the like. In spite of revised assessments, it is to be noticed that the income of the majority of municipalities in Bengal remains practically stationary. The official report notices that the real needs are enterprise and a policy of progress. None the less, the record of the year

Relaxation of official control.

Bengal.

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under review for the Bengal municipalities is not discouraging. The same is true in regard to district boards. The policy of making these institutions self-governing in a more real sense, has been further pursued by the extension, during the year under review, of the privilege of electing their own chairman to fifteen district boards. Twenty district boards out of twenty-five have now been removed from official tutelage; and it has been decided to increase the number of members of the district boards, and also to enlarge the proportion of those elected, from one-half to two-thirds. The experiment, to which reference was made in last year's report, of holding conferences of district board representatives, has tended to stimulate interest in the work of these bodies, and to facilitate the interchange of ideas and the promotion of progress. The income of the district boards in Bengal amounts to £1·3 millions a year, and their opportunities for development and progressive administration are considerable. There is a satisfactory tendency to adopt a more forward policy, particularly in public health administration; but more might be done if the boards abandoned the system of financing capital works from current revenues.

It may be mentioned in passing that the reluctance of the district boards to tax themselves is a feature which is not confined to Bengal. The reports of the administration of district boards up and down India reveal the fact that while the majority of those who serve upon them are quite alive to the advantages of improved administration, they are unwilling to face the corresponding financial obligations. The general impression still remains abroad that the Provincial and Central Governments possess an inexhaustible purse, from which they are only prevented by contumacy from relieving all the financial embarrassments and limitations under which the district boards labour. One method of shattering this simple belief and arousing the people at large to a sense of responsibility for self-improvement, is to be found in the efforts now being made for the institution of village self-government. In certain parts of India, village self-government has now attained a considerable degree of development, with the result that what may be called the civic consciousness of the population has been greatly increased. In other parts of India, such as in Bengal, village self-government has been backward. But here, as well as in other provinces, the administration is alive to the desirability of assisting this very necessary development. In 1919 there was passed in Bengal the Village Self-Government Act, embodying the policy of constituting Union

Village Self-Government.

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Boards at the earliest possible date for groups of villages throughout the province. Up to the end of 1920, about 1,500 Union Boards had been established in Bengal, and many more were in the process of creation. Already these new institutions are displaying a keen sense of responsibility and corporate activity, and it is believed that a wide extension of the scheme will result in the development of a strong sense of communal interest, accompanied by a progressive, if modest policy of village improvement through the promotion of public health and general well-being. A similar development may be noticed in Bombay, where an act for constituting or increasing the powers of village committees has been passed by the Legislative Council. In this Presidency, it should be noticed, some 75 out of 157 municipalities had a two-thirds elected majority of Councillors in the year 1919-20; and a distinct step forward has been projected by the administration in the direction of liberalising the constitution of all municipalities. A beginning has been made by reducing the qualifying tax in several of them, and this policy is now being pursued upon a wider scale. The policy of appointing non-official Presidents has been extended both to district and to sub-district boards during the year under review, with the result that 12 out of 26 district boards and 29 out of 219 sub-district boards in the Presidency possessed non-official Presidents by the end of the year. It should be noticed that all the district boards and most of the sub-district boards have non-official vice-Presidents.

Bombay.

In Madras also, the institutions of local self-government continued to progress in an encouraging manner during the year under review. In the year 1919-20, 41 municipal councils consisted entirely of Indian Members as against 32 in the previous year; and out of the actual number of Councillors, amounting to just over 1,000, nearly 700 were elected directly by the rate payers. The average imposition of taxation per head of population, although still very low, rose from three shillings and ten pence to four shillings. Expenditure, a substantial proportion of which was devoted to public works, rose in a comparatively satisfactory manner by £100,000 to a figure of over a million sterling. In the course of the year under review, water works were undertaken in five municipal towns, while improvements and extensions to existing waterworks were under execution in seven other municipalities. The net educational charges amounted to nearly 6 per cent. of the income from general taxation; and the number of educational institutions maintained by municipal-

Madras.

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ities increased to 895, a figure which represents an increase of 82 over that of previous year. The number of district boards in the Presidency remained the same, but the maximum strength of two of these has increased. Out of the 800 odd members who took part in their deliberations, nearly 500 were elected by the sub-district boards. The number of these latter continued to be 97, and 50 of them had non-official presidents, while the number of sub-district boards electing their own presidents increased to 13 during the year under review.

United Provinces.

In the United Provinces, there has been considerable if unostentatious progress during the year 1920. While it would appear that some of the boards still display defects and weaknesses, there are signs in others of the growth of stronger public spirit and a clearer realisation of the evils which arise from undue indulgence in dissension. Some of the Boards, whose financial position is admittedly unsatisfactory, are making determined efforts to put their house in order by imposition of additional taxation. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a tendency on the part of some boards to resent expert advice and to display their independence by rejecting the counsel proffered to them by Government officials. This, while a gratifying sign that the municipalities are beginning to find their feet, is unfortunate; for at the present time close co-operation between the municipalities and the officers of Government is more than ever necessary in view of the problems which await them both. The total municipal income fell from £1·19 million to £1·14 million, a decrease entirely accounted for by a reduction in Government contributions. On the whole, the income from municipal sources was much the same as last year, and is still inadequate for a satisfactory programme of municipal improvement. Generally speaking, the municipal authorities here, as in other parts of India, dislike direct taxation; and despite the advantages, from a practical point of view, of a property tax, most of the municipalities prefer to make use of indirect taxation. This tendency may be taken as indicating that the civic sense of the rate payers has not yet sufficiently developed to enable them to face with equanimity expenditure on improvements which they welcome and even demand, assuming that they are not obliged to pay for them themselves. But it is reported that the municipalities are beginning to take a more public view of their responsibilities, and are making up their minds to swallow the somewhat bitter medicine of heavier taxation. Unfortunately, the progress, so

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far as district boards are concerned, is less satisfactory. As a whole, they show few signs of vitality; and little interest seems to be taken in their administration either by the members themselves or by their electors. But it should be noticed that in these provinces the boards have no power to impose additional taxation, and the only elastic item of their receipts is represented by Government grants. Doubtless for this reason progress is restricted to departments to which the local Government makes contribution; in particular, to the department of Education, to which large grants have been made in pursuance of the programme, already mentioned elsewhere, for the rapid expansion of primary education throughout the provinces. It would seem that this financial impotence goes far to explain the apathy shown by members; and radical changes both in the constitution and the powers of the boards are necessary. There would appear to be no real reason why the district boards should be so dependent upon the local Government, nor indeed is there any justification for the system under which the burden of financing them should fall to the extent it does on provincial revenues. But the whole question is now one for consideration by the reformed Legislative Council, the members of which will, so it is hoped, give the matter their early consideration.

The Punjab.

In the Punjab, Municipal administration continued to show improvement during the year under review, the general attitude of the members in regard to their responsibilities being full of promise for future progress. Certain municipalities are reported to be conspicuously lacking in public spirit or swayed entirely by personal interest and party factions. But in the majority there are distinct signs of the awakening of civic responsibility. In four municipalities during the period under review, non-official presidents have been elected in place of officials, and this policy of the withdrawal of official control has undoubtedly increased interest in municipal affairs and strengthened the desire among the generality of citizens to become members of the municipal committees. Conscientious efforts are being made in many places to deal with overcrowding; and there has also been further attention to medical institutions. Education has also received a full share of attention, particularly in Lahore and in Multan; and a number of municipalities throughout the Punjab are taking steps to carry out comprehensive schemes of drainage and water supply. Turning now to District Board administration we may notice that the event of outstanding

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importance during this period has been the reconstruction of all the district boards in the Punjab, and the institution of new electoral rules. It is hoped that a greatly increased interest in the new elective system will follow from the further reduction of the official element on the district boards, the appointment of non-official chairmen, and the grant of wider powers of taxation. One difficulty which has made itself felt prominently during the year under review, as indeed during previous periods, is the reluctance of members to undertake executive duties, and the breakdown of all attempts to entrust them with such work. The financial resources of the district boards show satisfactory increase. During the year under review, the gross income from district boards in the Punjab amounted to £1·07 millions—double the gross income of ten years ago. So far as expenditure is concerned, we find that the total figure for district boards in the Punjab was £0·98 millions, representing an increase of £170,000 over the figure for 1918-19. Considerable increases in expenditure are to be noticed under the heads of medical, education and sanitation. District boards are also devoting attention to the opening of demonstration farms, to sheep-breeding and to sericulture.

Central Provinces.

In the Central Provinces the year under review witnessed the passing of a Local Self-Government Act, which only awaits the framing of rules to guide into proper channels the undoubtedly growing interest in public matters. The continued reduction of official members and chairmen, and the wider powers of control given to local bodies, will afford an incentive to the development of local self-government leading to an increased sense of public duty and responsibility. Village self-government was also stimulated by the passing of the Village Panchayat Act. But municipalities and district councils alike require development upon the financial side before they can realise the opportunities which lie before them. At present they are mainly dependent upon Government grants, and before their position can be pronounced satisfactory, local sources of revenue must be expanded. Recent grants for educational purposes have drawn attention to the need for an examination of the whole question of proportionate contribution by local bodies, and their use of the enhanced resources which are to be placed at their disposal by the new Local Self-Government Act. The cost to Government is at the present moment very disproportionate to the contributions of the local bodies, being far in excess of what might be regarded as the equitable proportion of one-half.

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In the North-West Frontier Province, as has been remarked in previous Reports, the institutions of local self-government are somewhat of a foreign growth. Certain of the municipal committees are very lax in the discharge of their responsibility, and meetings are reported to be infrequent. None the less the attendance of non-official members at meetings increased in every municipal committee during the year 1919-20, although the attitude of members towards their duties continued in the case of several municipalities to be disappointing and unsatisfactory. Except where factional and personal considerations are involved, the members of municipalities remain apathetic. The same is unfortunately true of the district boards, whose members, so it is said, do not evince any strong interest in their work. Here as elsewhere, this is probably to be explained by the want of any real authority. Unless the finances actually controlled by district boards can be materially augmented, and some stimulus afforded to the exercise of responsibility in important matters, it is difficult to expect that satisfactory improvement will result. Expenditure on such purposes as sanitation, education, cattle-breeding and the like continued to be a feature of the work of the district boards, but since the greater part of their income was ear-marked for the expenditure of various departments, little opportunity was afforded them for the exercise of direction and responsibility.

N.-W. F. Province.

As will be seen from this brief summary, the year 1920 has been one of fairly satisfactory progress in the sphere of local self-government throughout India. This progress would unquestionably have been more marked had it not been for the desire of the Government of India and the local Governments to avoid tying the hands of the new popular Ministers, to whose care this sphere of activity is henceforth to be delegated. The difficulties of the existing system are amply apparent from what has already been said; and it must be clear that until means are found for increasing the responsibility thrown both upon the municipalities and district boards, for enabling them to raise taxation locally in pursuit of their own objects, and for encouraging them to cultivate a sense of civic responsibility, no rapid extension of the existing system of local self-government in India can be expected.

Acts passed by Local Councils.

We turn now to a brief survey of the law-making activities of the legislatures during the period under review. In previous chapters some mention has already been made of the important enactments which have been passed in the Provincial Councils. Among the more notable

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of these may be mentioned University Acts for Lucknow and Rangoon; Local Self-Government Acts for Bihar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces; Village Self-Government Acts for Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces; Primary Education Acts for the City of Bombay, for Madras and for the Central Provinces: Tenancy (Amendment) Acts for Chota Nagpur, Bihar and Orissa, and Agra. To examine the more important of these enactments which have already received brief notice, and to follow in detail the legislative work of the Provincial Councils of India during the year 1920, would occupy a volume larger than convenience admits. But as was the case in last year's Report, the activities of the Imperial Legislative Council will be followed in some slight detail, since they are illustrative and typical of the work of other Legislative Bodies in India. The sessions of this Council which took place during the year 1920 possess considerable historic importance, since they represented the last to be held under the old Morley-Minto Reforms Scheme. With the termination of the period under review, the reformed Councils of the Montagu-Chelmsford regime have come into operation, and the contrast which they will afford with the old Imperial Legislative Council, the last activities of which are now to be described, will, so it is hoped, be a noteworthy feature of the history of India during the year 1921.

The Imperial Legislative Council.

The Delhi Session of the Imperial Legislative Council commenced on the 30th January 1920. The Council met nineteen times and was not finally prorogued until the 2nd March. It is interesting to remark as exemplifying its increasing activities, that notice was received of 378 questions, 54 ordinary resolutions and 21 budget resolutions. The following are some of the more important resolutions, relating to matters of general public interest, discussed in Council. On the opening day of the session, Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha moved a Resolution tendering to His Majesty the King an expression of the Council's profound gratitude for the Proclamation issued by His Majesty on the occasion of his assent to the Government of India Act. Mr. (now Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjea supported the resolution in a speech of great eloquence, appealing for co-operation and unity. A ready response was elicited from Mr. (now Sir) Walter Crum and Mr. Nigel Paton on behalf of the British commercial community. The Resolution was unanimously adopted and was duly communicated to the Secretary of State for submission to His Majesty.

The Delhi Session 1920.

Mr. Sinha's Resolution.

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Later in the session the Viceroy informed the Council that His Majesty had received the resolution with deep appreciation. Another resolution which excited considerable interest was that moved by Mr. Sarma to the effect that the headquarters of the Government of India should be permanently located in one place. A noteworthy feature of the debate was the very divergent views put forward as to the most suitable place for the capital of India, and Sir William Vincent in replying on behalf of Government had no difficulty in pointing out the futility of discussing the merits or demerits of all the possible places mentioned, explaining that Delhi had been selected as the site for the capital after long and careful deliberation with His Majesty's Government, and that it was not for the Government of India to alter a policy which had received such weighty sanction. The Resolution was defeated by a large majority. Industrial matters received a considerable amount of attention upon the Resolution paper. Sir George Barnes on behalf of Government secured the appointment of a Committee to examine trade statistics and to report whether it was or was not advisable to apply to the Indian customs tariff a system of preference in favour of goods of Imperial origin. A non-official Member, Khan Bahadur Ebrahim Haroon Jaffer moved for the appointment of a Commission to enquire into the conditions of factory labour and the desirability of establishing committees of arbitration to settle disputes between employers and workmen. The general opinion of the Council was to the effect that the resolution was premature, and it was ultimately by leave withdrawn. Another non-official Member, Mr. Patel, moved for the appointment of a committee to consider the question of the fiscal policy to be adopted by the Government of India. This resolution, which was pressed to a division, was defeated in view of the resolution previously mentioned. Political matters also received their due share of attention. Mr. Khaparde moved for the appointment of a committee of all the non-official Members of Council to consider the Report on the Rules and Regulations to be framed under the Government of India Act, 1919. Sir William Marris explained on behalf of Government that a small and thoroughly representative committee was already at work, while the large committee suggested by the mover would be unable to complete its task with the required rapidity ; and the resolution was pressed to a division and lost, only four members voting in favour of it. A Resolution was moved by the same Member, recommending that the permission of His Majesty's Government should

Other Resolutions.

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be obtained to empower Sir Benjamin Robertson to study the status and conditions of Indians settled in British East Africa with a view to placing them in a position of equality with the white settlers there. The Resolution was accepted and adopted in a modified form. Another resolution, also adopted, was one recommending that the fullest effect be given to the letter and spirit of the Royal Proclamation in regard to clemency to political offenders. The Home Secretary, Mr. McPherson, explained that the policy of pardon and conciliation towards political offenders was the accepted policy of the Government even before the Proclamation of December 1919. He proceeded to show in detail how the Royal direction had received the fullest compliance and the most generous interpretation.

The legislative programme fixed for the Delhi Session was a heavy one, and in the event no fewer than 21 bills were passed. Of these the most interesting will be briefly described.

Legislation.

The Provincial Insolvency Act, which was passed as a result of ten years' practical experience of the working of the Act of 1907, embodied the numerous suggestions for amending the existing law which had been made from time to time by local Governments and representatives of the commercial and legal professions. The Workman's Breach of Contract Act was passed to remedy the more serious defects of the Act of 1859, which has long been recognised as unsuitable to modern ideas and conditions. The new enactment fixes the period of limitation for a complaint against workman at three months and confines the utilisation by employers of the provisions of the Act to cases where the advance of money does not exceed Rs. 300, while enabling the Magistrate to refuse to put the Act into operation if he considers the terms of the contract substantially unfair to the workman, and to dismiss a complaint without compelling the appearance of the workman if the complaint is false or vexatious. Another important enactment was the Charitable and Religious Trusts Act, which seeks to simplify and cheapen the legal processes under which persons interested can obtain information regarding the working of religious and charitable trusts, besides facilitating the imposition of a more efficient control over the action of trustees. The Act applies to the whole of British India, but any specified provinces or area or any specified class of trusts may be exempted from its provision. There was also passed in this Session an Act for the establishment and incorporation of a unitary teaching and residential University at Dacca. The provisions of the Act follow generally the

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recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission; but certain additions have been made where the recommendations require supplementing, while further modifications were introduced to meet the wishes of the non-official members of the Legislative Council.

Extension of life of Council.

The terms of office of Members of the Legislative Council were due to expire in July 1920. But since it was obviously desirable to keep that body in existence pending the formation of the new Legislature under the Government of India Act, 1919, power was taken to extend the life of the Indian Legislature until the date appointed for the coming into operation of relevant sections of the new Act. The last session of the Imperial Legislative Council commenced on August 20th. The Council met eight times; 221 questions were answered, 27 resolutions were placed upon the agenda paper and no fewer than 28 Bills were passed. The fact that the Council was moribund and the members were looking beyond it to the larger and more powerful Councils to be called into being by the Reforms Scheme, might have been expected to detract from the interest and importance of the session. In addition to this it must be remembered that Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement was now in full swing, and the meeting of the Indian National Congress, in which this movement was finally ratified, had been fixed for the first week of September. Neither of these considerations did in fact affect the session to the extent which might have been expected, the average attendance at the meetings being 50 out of a total membership of 68.

Simla Session 1920.

Resolutions.

Of the 27 resolutions which were placed upon the agenda paper only three were actually moved. Eighteen of these resolutions stood in the names of Messrs. Sastri, Sinha, Khaparde and Ayyengar. But with one exception, which will be referred to below, these Members when called upon to move their Resolutions intimated their desire to withdraw them, as a protest against the disallowance by Lord Chelmsford of a Resolution relating to the Punjab Disturbances of 1919. Reference has already been made to this occurrence in a previous chapter. Lord Chelmsford explained at the close of the Session that Government was taking the measures necessary to prevent a recurrence of the errors and excesses pointed out by the Hunter Committee, and that he had decided to disallow Mr. Sastri's resolution because he felt that if peace and good will were to be restored in the Punjab, further public discussion of the subject must be avoided. Hence it came about that the only resolution upon

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which there was a full debate during the session was Mr. Khaparde's motion relating to the causes of the troubles in the Government presses in Simla, Delhi and Calcutta. It may be mentioned that shortly before the session commenced the majority of the workers in the Government Central Branch Press went on strike, with the idea, apparently, of paralysing the business of the session. But the Monotype Press continued to work loyally, and with their aid and by the use of Roneo duplicators, business was carried on much as usual. Mr. Khaparde's resolution was replied to at length by Sir Thomas Holland, and was lost on a division. Two other resolutions by Sir Umar Hayat Khan and Mr. Rayaningar were withdrawn by the movers.

Legislation.

The legislative business was extremely heavy, as many as 28 Bills being passed during the Session. Among the most important of these may be mentioned the Imperial Bank of India Bill, the Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Bill, the Auxiliary Force Bill, the Territorial Force Bill, the Devolution Bill, and the Aligarh Muslim University Bill. The Imperial Bank of India Bill provided for the fusion into a single bank of the Presidency Banks constituted under the Act of 1876, and sought by the creation of a strong unified bank in close relation with Government to foster and promote the growth of banking facilities in India. In the course of the discussion in the Select Committee on the Bill, as might have been expected, the question of the constitution of the Central Board of the bank was much agitated. Divergent points of view were met by the insertion of a provision allowing four non-official persons to be nominated as Governors of the Bank, as well as by various other modifications of the Bill as first introduced. The Indian Elections Offences and Inquiries Bill was taken up as a result of the opinion recorded by the Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, that a complete and stringent Corrupt Practices Act should be brought into operation before the first elections for the reformed Legislative Councils. The opportunity was taken to supplement the rules regarding malpractices at elections by legislation. The object of the Bill was two-fold: first to make punishable under the ordinary penal law, bribery, undue influence, impersonation and certain other malpractices at elections, not only for the Legislative Councils but also for other public bodies; and further to debar persons guilty of such malpractices from holding positions of public responsibility for a specific period. In the second place the Bill proposed to confer judicial powers

Imperial Banks.

Corrupt practices.

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on the Commissioners appointed to hold enquiries in respect of elections to legislative bodies in India, leaving the decision as to other bodies with the local Legislatures. In Select Committee the bill was amended to make the offences of bribery by treating and the publication of certain false statements punishable with fine only and not with imprisonment. An amendment was carried when the Bill was under consideration penalising a breach of the secrecy of the ballot in the case of elections to legislative bodies. The Auxiliary Force Bill was intended to repeal the Indian Defence Force Act of 1917 and its amending Acts, as well as the old Indian Volunteer Act of 1869. It provided for a force recruited by voluntary enrolment, but under the improved organisation and subject to the more efficient standard of training effected by the Compulsory Service Acts passed to meet the emergency of the War. A natural accompaniment of this Act was the Indian Territorial Force Bill, intended to provide a frame-work on which a Territorial Force could be built up in order to provide a second line for the regular army. It may be mentioned that the extension of the Territorial system to India has long been advocated by the educated classes, who, under the new Reforms Scheme, will naturally find the defence of India a matter which they cannot consistently with self-respect leave wholly to the sphere of the non-popular part of the Government. The proposed organisation and terms of service of the Force are to follow the model of the English Militia, with special provision for University Training Corps. In Select Committee the Bill was considerably modified and its provisions assimilated to those of the Auxiliary Force Bill. In particular the provision relating to the application of the Indian Army Act was somewhat relaxed, and the constitution of Advisory Committees was provided for. The Devolution Act constituted an important development of the policy embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919, providing, as it did, for a very substantial delegation of authority from the Governor General in Council to local Governments. The Aligarh Muslim University Act was designed to incorporate a teaching and residential University of that name, after the dissolution of the Muslim University Association and the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. Mention has already been made in another place of the importance of this particular enactment.

Defence.

Among other enactments which are worthy of mention during this, the last session of the Imperial Legislative Council, the following may particularly be

Other Acts.

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noted. The Indian Coinage (Amendment) Act gave effect to the change from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10 in the legal tender ratio of the sovereign, in accordance with the recommendations of the Indian Exchange and Currency Committee. The Indian Paper Currency (Amendment) Act prescribed the permanent constitution of the paper currency reserve, altering the ratio at which notes could be issued from the Reserve in exchange for gold coin and gold bullion. The Identification of Prisoners Act conferred legal authority for the taking of measurements, finger impressions and photographs of persons convicted of or arrested in connection with certain offences; and the Indian Passport Act provided for the continuance, with certain modifications, of the procedure regarding passports which had been introduced as a war measure under the Defence of India Act 1915, thus bringing the Indian practice into line with that of other parts of the British Empire and of foreign nations. Since information was received of extensive smuggling into India of rouble notes for the furtherance of Bolshevik propaganda in the country, the Rouble Note Act was passed to continue the provisions of the Ordinance of 1919 making the possession of such notes illegal, as described in last year's Report. Mention must also be made of a private bill introduced by Mr. Haroon Jaffer, to declare that the members of the Cutchi Memon community were subject to Muhammadan law. After circulation to local Governments for opinion and the receipt of their respective comments, on the whole favourable in nature, the Bill was modified in Select Committee so as to make it an enabling measure in matters of succession and inheritance, and was passed into law in that form.

The last of the Morley-Minto Councils.

The last meeting of the session of the Imperial Legislative Council on Thursday the 16th September 1920 brought to a close the era which was inaugurated by the first of the Morley-Minto Councils on the 25th January 1910. Limited as the powers of these Councils have been in comparison with those which await their successors, it would be idle to deny that they have performed a work of the highest utility. They have been of the greatest assistance to the administration, placing it far more closely in touch with public opinion than had been possible prior to their existence. Considered as law-making machinery pure and simple, the Morley-Minto Councils have been excellent. They have been able to influence the policy of the administration, in some degree at least, upon many matters in which public interest was excited and they have throughout displayed a policy of hearty co-operation in the

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work of Government. Their principal fault, one inherent in their constitution, lay in the fact that the members were not directly elected, and in practice represented the opinions of a very restricted class. None the less, as an index of public opinion, the Councils have been very accurate. In illustration of this mention need only be made of such matters as the passage of the Rowlatt Act referred to in last year's Report. Here the sense of the Council and the sense of educated opinion outside the Council were one. But the natural result of the restricted franchise upon which the elections to the Morley-Minto Councils were based, was to handicap them seriously from the point of view of their influence over the country. The constituencies were small, the system of election indirect. Hence it was that the councils often failed to carry with the administration that weight which could not but have attached to their advice had the members been representative of a wider franchise. But as a training ground for statesmanship and as a means of bringing popular leaders into touch with the hard facts and practical difficulties of administrative work, the Morley-Minto Councils have discharged a most valuable function. That they have, almost since their inception, failed to satisfy the aspirations of educated India, is unfortunately only too true. This however cannot be attributed to any defect on the part of the personnel. The majority of those who have come to the headquarters of Government as elected Members of the Imperial Legislative Council have been men who from their intellectual calibre and their moral earnestness would have done credit to any country. The work which the Morley-Minto Councils have achieved in paving the way for the new Reforms can hardly be over-estimated; and it is but fitting that with their disappearance some small tribute should be paid both to those who planned them and to those who are responsible for their successful working.

Their work.

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APPENDIX I.

Sources.

LIST OF INDIAN OFFICIAL REPORTS, ETC.

(Mostly Annual.)

General.

Statistical Abstract relating to British India (Parliamentary paper).
Statistics of British India:—

Vol. I.—Commercial.
Vol. II.—Financial.
Vol. III.—Public Health.
Vol. IV.—Administrative and Judicial.
Vol. V.—Educational.

Census Reports (Decennial), India, Provincial, and Native States.

Administration Reports: Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, Punjab, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, North-West Frontier Province, Delhi, Coorg, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Civil and Military Station of Bangalore, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan Agency.

Legislation.

Acts of the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils.

Justice and Police.

Report on the Administration of Civil Justice for each Province.
Report on the Administration of Criminal Justice for each Province.
Report on Jails for each Province.
Reports on Police for each Province, and for Bombay Town and Island, Calcutta, and Rangoon.

Finance.

Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India.
East India Financial Statement (Parliamentary Paper).
Return of Net Income and Expenditure for eleven years (Parliamentary Paper).
Accounts and Estimates: Explanatory Memorandum (Parliamentary Paper).
Home Accounts (Parliamentary Paper).
Loans raised in England (Half-yearly Parliamentary Paper).
Loans raised in India (Half-yearly Parliamentary Paper).

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Mint Reports for Calcutta and Bombay.
Paper Currency Department Reports, India and Bombay.
Statistics compiled from the Finance and Revenue Accounts.

Land Revenue, etc.

Land Revenue Administration: Provincial Reports for Lower Provinces (Bengal), Bihar and Orissa, Assam, United Provinces, Bombay Presidency (including Sind), Punjab, Central Provinces and Berar, Burma, and Madras.

Report on Land Revenue Administration, Land Records, Settlement Operations, Alienation of Land Act, etc., for North-West Frontier Province.

Madras Survey, Settlement and Land Records Department Report.

Reports of Land Records Department for Bombay, Burma, Bengal, United Provinces, and Punjab.

Report on Settlement Operations, Punjab.

Reports on Survey and Settlement Operations, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and Assam.

Reports on Operations of the Land Records and Settlement Departments, Central Provinces and Berar.

Report of the Talukdari Settlement Officer, Bombay.

Provincial Reports on the Administration of Estates under the Court of Wards.

Report on the Punjab Canal Colonies.

Separate Revenue (Salt, Excise, etc.)

Salt Department Reports: Northern India, Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Burma, Bihar and Orissa.

Excise Report for each Province.

Report on the Operations of the Opium Department.

Stamp Department Report for each Province.

Registration Department Report for each Province.

Income-tax Report for each Province.

Agriculture and Veterinary.

Report on the Progress of Agriculture in India.

Report of the Agricultural Research Institute and College, Pusa.

Bulletins of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, and of the Provincial Department of Agriculture.

Memoirs of the Department of Agriculture.

Proceedings of the Board of Agriculture.

Agricultural Journal of India (quarterly).

Reports of the Department of Agriculture for each Province.

Reports on Agricultural Stations, Experimental Farms, and Botanic Gardens for each Province.

Season and Crop Report for each Province.

Agricultural Statistics of India.

Area and Yield of certain Principal Crops.

Report on Production of Tea in India.

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Report on Tea Culture in Assam.

Reports of the Civil Veterinary Departments for each Province.

Statistics compiled from the Reports of the Provincial Civil Veterinary Departments.

Report of the Camel Specialist.

Report of the Imperial Bacteriologist (Veterinary).

Co-operative Societies.

Statements showing Progress of the Co-operative Movement in India.

Reports on Co-operative Societies for each Province.

Reports of Conferences of Registrars of Co-operative Societies, India and Provincial.

Forests.

Annual Return of Statistics relating to Forest Administration in British India.

Report on Forest Administration for each Province.

Reports of the Forest Research Institute and the Imperial Forest College, Dehra Dun.

Quinquennial Forest Review.

Indian Forest Memoirs.

Indian Forest Records.

Forest Bulletins.

Mineral Production and Inspection of Mines.

Review of Mineral Production (in Records of Geological Survey).

Report on Production and Consumption of Coal in India.

Report of the Chief Inspector of Mines.

Trade and Manufactures.

Annual Statements of Sea-borne Trade and Navigation, India and Provincial (Madras, Bombay, Sind, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Burma).

Review of the Trade of India (Parliamentary Paper).

Tables of the Trade of India (Parliamentary Paper).

Provincial Reports on Maritime Trade and Customs (including working of Merchandise Marks Act) for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Bombay, Sind, Madras, and Burma.

Accounts relating to the Sea-borne Trade and Navigation of British India (monthly and for calendar year).

Accounts relating to the Trade by Land of British India with Foreign Countries (monthly).

Annual Statement of Coasting Trade of British India.

Report on the Trade and Navigation of Aden.

Accounts of Trade carried by Rail and River in India.

Report on Inland, Rail-borne, or Rail-and-River-borne Trade for each Province.

External Land Trade Reports for Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, Assam, Burma, United Provinces, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, and British Baluchistan.

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Indian Trade Journal (weekly).
Statistics relating to Joint-Stock Companies in British India and Mysore.
Report on the working of the Indian Companies Act for each Province.
Report on the working of the Indian Factories Act for each Province.
Report of the Chief Inspector of Explosives.

Public Works.

Administration Report on Railways.
Reports on Public Works (Buildings and Roads) for Madras, Bombay, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, and Burma.
Review of Irrigation.
Report on Irrigation Revenue for each Province (except Madras).
Administrative Reports on Irrigation, Madras and Bombay.
Report on Architectural Work in India.

Posts and Telegraphs.

Report on the Posts and Telegraphs of India.
Report of Indo-European Telegraph Department.

Scientific Departments.

Report on the Operations of the Survey of India.
Records of the Survey of India.
Records and Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India.
Report of the Indian Meteorological Department.
Indian Weather Review, Annual Summary.
Rainfall Data of India.
Memoirs of the Indian Meteorological Department.
Report of the Meteorologist, Calcutta.
Report of the Director-General of Observatories.
Memoirs and Bulletins of the Kodaikanal Observatory.
Report of the Board of Scientific Advice.
Report of the Archæological Survey of India, and Provincial Reports.
Report and Records of the Botanical Survey.

Education.

Education Reports for India and each Province.
Quinquennial Review of Education (Parliamentary Paper).

Local Self-Government.

Reports on Municipalities for each Province and for Calcutta, Bombay City, Madras City, and Rangoon.
Reports on District and Local Boards or Local Funds for each Province.
Reports of Port Trusts of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Rangoon, Karachi, and Aden.

Medical, Sanitary, and Vital Statistics.

Report of the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India.

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Report on Sanitary Measures in India (Parliamentary Paper).
Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for each Province.
Vaccination Report for each Province.
Report on Civil Hospitals and Dispensaries for each Province.
Report on Lunatic Asylums for each Province.
Report of the Chemical Examiner and Bacteriologist for each Province.
Scientific Memoirs by Officers of the Medical and Sanitary Departments.
Reports of the All-India Sanitary Conferences.
Reports of the Imperial Malaria Conferences.
Indian Journal of Medical Research (Quarterly).

Emigration and Immigration.

Calcutta Port Emigration Report.
Bengal Inland Emigration Report.
Assam Immigration Report.

Prices and Wages.

Prices and Wages in India.
Variations in Indian Price Levels.
Reports of Provincial Wage Censuses.

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APPENDIX II.

No. 2.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

HOME DEPARTMENT.

POLITICAL.

To

The Right Honourable EDWIN MONTAGU,

His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Dated Simla, the 3rd May 1920.

SIR,

WE submit for your information and for any orders His Majesty's Government may desire to issue the report which was presented on the 8th March 1920 by the Disorders Committee, together with our review of the report and our conclusions thereon. In the ordinary course the report would have been published with a resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, but we consider the subject so important that after discussion with you we have decided that it is best to communicate to you our views and findings on the report for the information of His Majesty's Government. We desire to add that our views and conclusions are unanimous, except on those points where the dissent of our Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Shafi, has been expressly indicated. We may also state that our Hon'ble Colleague, Sir George Lowndes, now on leave, concurred in all the conclusions we had reached up to the time of his departure.

2. In Resolution No. 2168, dated the 14th October 1919, the Governor General in Council with the approval of the Secretary of State appointed a Committee to investigate the disturbances in Bombay, Delhi and the Punjab, their causes, and the measures taken to cope with them. The Hon'ble Lord Hunter, lately Solicitor General for Scotland and now Senator of the College of Justice in Scotland, was appointed President of the Committee, which consisted of the following Members :—

(1) The Hon'ble Mr. Justice G. C. RANKIN, Judge of the High Court, Calcutta.
(2) The Hon'ble Mr. W. F. RICE, C.S.I., I.C.S., Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department.

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(3) Major-General Sir GEORGE BARROW, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., I.A., Commanding the Peshawar Division.
(4) The Hon'ble Pandit JAGAT NARAYAN, B.A., Member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.
(5) The Hon'ble Mr. THOMAS SMITH, Member of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.
(6) Sir CHIMANLAL HARILAL SETALVAD, KT., Advocate of the High Court, Bombay.
(7) Sardar Sahibzada SULTAN AHMED KHAN, MUNTAZIM-UD-DOULA, M.A., L.L.M. (Cantb.), Bar-at-Law, Member for Appeals, Gwalior State.

The Committee began its sittings on the 29th October 1919 and after hearing evidence at Delhi, Lahore, Ahmedabad, and Bombay finished its labours in the first week of March 1920, when its report was presented to the Government of India.

Before reviewing the findings of the Committee we desire to make some preliminary observations regarding the scope of the enquiry, the procedure followed by the Committee in recording evidence, and the general character of its conclusions.

3. In order to obtain a general view of the character of the disturbances and of the scope of the enquiry it will be useful to explain briefly the relative geographical position of the chief centres of disorder and to refer to a few salient dates which indicate the sequence of events in point of time. It was at Delhi—the Capital of India and from its historical and commercial importance a determining factor of considerable weight in the attitude of the rest of Northern India—that disturbances first occurred on the 30th March. They were of such a character as required the use of the military to restore order and before this was achieved it became necessary to fire twice on the mob. On the 10th April violent rioting took place at Amritsar and Lahore in the Punjab, and at Ahmedabad in the Presidency of Bombay, and distinct unrest manifested itself in a minor degree at places as far distant as Calcutta and Bombay. Lahore is a city of 230,000 inhabitants and the capital of the Punjab. Amritsar which is 20 miles east of Lahore is a town of more than 150,000 inhabitants and of great commercial importance. Ahmedabad has a population of roughly 280,000 and is an industrial town where 78 mills are located. The distances respectively of Lahore, Amritsar and Ahmedabad from Delhi are roughly 300, 280 and 540 miles. The situation in the Punjab after the 10th April rapidly deteriorated and martial law was proclaimed on the 15th April in the districts of Lahore and Amritsar, and shortly after in three other districts. About two weeks later a thundercloud on the frontier burst and the mobilization of troops for the Afghan war began on the 4th May. This seriously affected the general situation in the Punjab and it was not found possible to withdraw martial law from all the districts concerned before the 12th June nor from railway lands till a later date. These were briefly the events which with their causes and consequences formed the subject matter of the Committee's enquiry.

4. The next point to which the Government of India wish to advert is the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to abstain from presenting evidence before the Committee of Enquiry. As explained by Lord Hunter in his letter of the 8th March forwarding the Report of the Committee, all persons desirous of giving evidence were invited to submit their names and addresses, together with a brief memorandum of the points on which they desired to give evidence, and it was

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left to the Committee to decide what evidence they would hear. Lord Hunter has described the circumstances in which the Congress Committee declined after the 12th November further to assist the Committee of Enquiry by appearing before it and tendering evidence, the offer which the same body made on the 30th December to produce their evidence and re-open the enquiry, and the reasons which led Lord Hunter to reject that offer. We believe that Lord Hunter's account of the matter will convince all reasonable people that his decision was fully justified. The point, however, which we wish to emphasize—and it is one which was present to Lord Hunter's mind also—is this, that the material placed at the disposal of the Committee and the evidence laid before it covered the whole field of enquiry. The official witnesses fully disclosed all they knew regarding the events in which they had participated and placed before the Committee all correspondence and other documentary evidence which had any bearing on the nature of the outbreak, the suppression of the disturbances, or the administration of martial law. It is a matter of regret to Government that this was not supplemented by the additional evidence which the Congress Committee had collected and that the evidence which has since been published by that body has not therefore been subjected to examination by an impartial tribunal. They are doubtful, however, where it would have made any substantial difference to the general picture placed before the Committee, although it might have thrown further light on particular incidents. With regard to the firing at Jallianwala Bagh, on which the attention of the public both at Home and in India has been so largely concentrated since December last, the Committee had the most ample materials for judgment and further evidence would have contributed nothing to their knowledge of the facts.

5. The Committee have now submitted their recommendations in the form of a majority and minority report. The majority report is signed by the President and four members of Committee, Mr. Justice Rankin, General Barrow, and Messrs. Rice and Smith. The minority report is signed by Sir C. H. Setalvad, Pandit Jagat Narayan and Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan. While two reports have been submitted, it is a matter of satisfaction to the Government of India that most of the findings of fact are unanimous and that in spite of differences of opinion as to the conclusions to be deduced therefrom there is considerable common ground in this respect also. That common ground covers the whole of the events in Delhi and the Bombay Presidency. It also covers much of the narrative of events and the causes of the disturbances in the Punjab. Nor is the divergence in the Punjab findings altogether basic. It is partly one of degree, partly one of essential difference. Certain measures adopted in the suppression of the disturbances and the administration of martial law are condemned in both reports but with varying degrees of severity. This remark applies in particular to the joint condemnation of the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The most important point on which there is an essential difference of opinion relates to the introduction of martial law in the Punjab. While the majority find that a state of rebellion existed, necessitating or justifying the adoption of that measure, the minority consider that the disorders did not amount to rebellion and that the disturbances might have been suppressed and order restored without abrogating the control of the civil authorities or calling in military force save as auxiliary to the civil power.

6. It will be convenient to explain at this stage the arrangement which has been followed in the reports. The first seven chapters of the majority report are

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devoted to accounts of the disturbances in Delhi, the Bombay Presidency, and the Punjab districts of Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur. In each case the majority briefly review the disturbances and record their findings on the propriety of the measures adopted to check them and to restore order. In Chapter VIII they described the widespread attacks on communications which have an important bearing on the general nature of the disorders. In Chapter IX they discuss the causes of the disturbances with more particular reference to the Punjab. Chapter X contains a brief description of the stages in the introduction of martial law. In Chapter XI the reasons for the introduction and continuance of martial law are considered, while Chapter XII is devoted to a criticism of the administration of martial law.

The minority report follows a somewhat different plan of arrangement. Chapter I sets forth the general extent of the minority's agreement or disagreement with the findings of the majority. The nature and causes of the disorders are discussed in Chapter II. The justification for the introduction and the continuance of martial law in the Punjab is examined in Chapter III. Chapter IV is devoted to the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. The administration of martial law is discussed in Chapter V, the use of armoured trains and aeroplanes in Chapter VI and the working of the martial law courts in Chapter VII.

Although it might have been more convenient to review at the outset the findings of the Committee regarding the causes and nature of the disturbances, we are reluctant to depart from the general plan of the majority report, as any such departure would increase the difficulty of comparing its findings with those of the minority. We accordingly propose to examine the report chapter by chapter, to state our conclusions on the findings of the majority and minority, more particularly where these differ, and finally to explain the action which in our judgment should be taken on the report.

7. Chapter I deals with the disturbances at Delhi. The Committee are unanimous in finding that the authorities handled the situation in an adequate and reasonable manner, that there was no provocative or unnecessary display of military force, and that the firing was justified on the three occasions on which it was found necessary to resort to this extreme measure. The actual collisions between the police and mobs are found to be the bye-products of the *Satyagraha* movement. The majority recognize that Mr. Gandhi's visit to Delhi after the first outbreak, if not prevented, would have been a serious embarrassment to the executive authorities there and might well have proved a source of great danger. The minority, while doubtful of the expediency of his exclusion and, while thinking that his presence might have had a beneficial result, do not deny the possibility of developments endangering the public peace. The only criticism passed by the Committee on the measures adopted by the local authorities is that the Deputy Commissioner made a mistake in enrolling a number of leading citizens as special constables, though, as they point out, these persons were not called on to render any services.

We accept these conclusions and have perused with satisfaction the commendation which has been bestowed by the Committee on the handling of the situation by the local officers. We do not consider that any blame attaches to the Deputy Commissioner for his appointment of special constables, as he acted in accordance with the established practice. We have, however, decided to address local Governments on the question whether the orders now obtaining on the subject in the

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various provinces require modification or revision. This is the more necessary as it appears that leading citizens were enrolled as special constables at other disturbed centres besides Delhi.

The Government of India consider that the events described in this chapter have an important bearing on the rest of the report, for they were the first fruits of the *Satyagraha* movements, the first collision between the forces of order and the adherents of the passive resistance or civil disobedience movement. The behaviour of the crowd on the 30th March, which rendered it necessary for the military and police to fire on two occasions, cannot be ascribed to any action taken against Mr. Gandhi or local politicians. Such action has been pleaded in excuse of later mob excesses, but the internment order against Mr. Gandhi was not passed till ten days after the first outbreak of disorder at Delhi.

8. Chapter II gives an account of the disturbances in the Bombay Presidency. They were confined to Ahmedabad City and Viramgam in the Ahmedabad district, to Nadiad in the Kaira district, and to Bombay City. Viramgam is a town of 20,000 inhabitants 40 miles distant from Ahmedabad, and Nadiad, which has a population of 30,000, is 29 miles from the same city. By far the most serious outbreak of disorder occurred in Ahmedabad which is the home of Mr. Gandhi and may be described as the birth place of the *Satyagraha* movement. The disturbances began on the 10th April as soon as the people of Ahmedabad heard of the action taken against Mr. Gandhi, and were not finally checked till the 14th, although military assistance was called in from the afternoon of the 10th. It is not necessary to follow the report of the Committee into the details of the disturbances and the measures taken to quell them but it is important to notice that for two days mob law reigned in the city and the excesses committed included two atrocious murders, brutal assaults on Europeans and Government officers, and the total destruction of the courts and other Government buildings. The efforts of the Police and the military to protect the city and restore order were not successful till the military commander, with the concurrence of the District Magistrate, issued a proclamation on the 12th April warning all people that any gathering of over ten individuals collected at one spot would be fired at, and that any single individual seen outside any house between 7 P.M. and 6 A.M. who did not stop when challenged would be shot. The last occasion on which the troops fired was mid-day of the 13th April and the Committee find that there was not in fact any firing without warning nor was any person fired on, who was not either rioting or encouraging rioters. The outbreak came to an end abruptly on the 14th April and its cessation is ascribed partly to the effects of this proclamation and partly to the return of Mr. Gandhi who, be it said to his credit, used his influence with the people to assist the authorities in restoring order. During the disturbances telegraph wires were cut at eight places in Ahmedabad and at fourteen places outside, and property to the value of nine lakhs of rupees was destroyed. The number of rounds fired by the armed police and the troops was 748, and the number of ascertained casualties amongst the rioters was 28 killed and 123 wounded. The majority report comments thus on the measures taken to suppress the outbreak:—"We are of opinion that the measures taken by the authorities to deal with the disturbances were appropriate. The use of military force was unavoidable and the rioters alone were responsible for the casualties which ensued.

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The control of the city was in the hands of the military for less than two days and this has been referred to as a period of martial law. But beyond maintaining order and issuing the proclamation on the 12th April, the military authorities did not interfere with matters of administration. The so-called martial law orders were drastic; but the situation was most serious. The belief that all groups of more than ten men would be fired on without warning did much to restore order, and it appears that this instruction was not in fact literally carried out. We think that the troops behaved with praiseworthy restraint in most trying circumstances, and that the military action taken was not excessive. The Bombay Government have informed us that the behaviour of the military during the period that they were stationed in the city was exemplary. Our investigation leads to the same conclusion."

9. The outbreak at Viramgam was marked by the same ferocity as in Ahmedabad, by arson, murder, the destruction of Government property, and attacks on railway and telegraph communications. The fury of the mob culminated in the savage murder of Mr. Madhavlal, a magisterial officer, who after a relentless pursuit was dragged from a house where he had taken refuge to the public road, soaked in kerosine oil and burnt alive beneath piles of public records, his body being completely incinerated. The outbreak began on the morning of the 12th April and was not finally suppressed till troops arrived from Ahmedabad late on the evening of that day. The Committee find that the total ascertained casualties amongst the rioters were six killed and eleven wounded and that the value of the property destroyed by the mob exceeded two lakhs of rupees. They commend the conduct of the armed police who behaved with spirit and kept off the mob from the public offices for six hours. They consider that the force used against the rioters by the armed police and by the armed peons of the Salt Department under Mr. Caldecott was certainly not excessive, and say indeed that if greater force could have been applied at an earlier stage, an atrocious murder and much destruction of property might have been prevented. They express regret that the murderers of Mr. Madhavlal could not be brought to justice for want of adequate identification.

10. In Nadiad the chief incident was an attempt to wreck a train which was conveying British troops to Ahmedabad. The train was derailed but had a miraculous escape, as it was brought to a stand before running down a steep embankment. Several attacks were made on railway and telegraph communications, but no collision occurred between the people and the troops who were sent here as a precautionary measure.

11. In Bombay City attempts were made to create disturbances when news came of the exclusion of Mr. Gandhi from the Punjab and Delhi, but the situation was well handled by the police and the military, and with the arrival of Mr. Gandhi the disorder subsided. As the Committee were informed by the Bombay Government, " the disturbances were attended by no fatal casualties or extensive destruction of public or private property. There was no suspension of the normal course of administration or of civil control over law and order. Offences committed in the course of the disturbances were dealt with by the permanent magisterial courts. There was no serious dislocation for any considerable time of the normal life of the city."

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12. The minority accept the majority report in respect of all the disturbances in the Bombay Presidency, although they consider it almost certain that the unfortunate events at Ahmedabad and elsewhere would not have taken place but for the orders passed against Mr. Gandhi, and add that according to the official evidence his influence on arrival was fully thrown on the side of law and order. They acknowledge the discretion and judgment displayed by Mr. Chatfield, the Collector of Ahmedabad, in dealing with a sudden and grave outburst of mob fury, and compliment the local Government in the following terms :—" The manner in which the Bombay Government, while firmly taking adequate steps for the maintenance of peace and order in the city of Bombay and Ahmedabad and other places, avoided taking measures likely to cause public irritation and leave bitterness behind, displayed to our mind creditable statesmanship."

13. We accept the unanimous findings of the Committee regarding the disorders in the Bombay Presidency. We also endorse the opinions which have been expressed regarding the valuable services of the local officers and the admirable behaviour of the troops engaged in the suppression of the disturbances. In this despatch it is impossible to review in detail the various outrages recorded in the report. A perusal of that document is necessary to appreciate correctly the cruelty of the mob, which was immediately directed against Europeans and Government servants. We desire to place on record our deep sympathy with all those who suffered at the hands of the mob and in particular with the relations of the magistrate and two police officers who were done to death in so dastardly a manner. Steps have already been taken to make provision for the dependents of these persons and to ensure adequate recognition of the services of those officers and others who rendered valuable assistance in this serious outbreak.

14. In Chapter III the Committee turn to the Punjab and deal first with the disturbances in the Amritsar district. They begin by describing the unrest and ferment which prevailed in Amritsar city prior to the 10th of April, on which date the first outbreak of disorder occurred. On the 9th the Deputy Commissioner received the orders of the local Government for the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal to Dharmsala. The action of the Deputy Commissioner in carrying out these orders quickly and quietly is approved and the precaution of concentrating seventy-five armed police at the kotwali (police station) is commended as wise. The subsequent breakdown of this arrangement is not held to be due to any want of foresight on the part of the local officers. The Committee comment, however, on the failure to warn the European residents in the city of the danger of their position, observing that this omission seems inconsistent with the precautions taken for the evacuation of the women and children. At the same time they recognise the impossibility of predicting such an outburst of murderous antipathy against Europeans as actually occurred.

When the news of the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal became known, an excited and angry crowd attempted to make their way to the civil lines. The Committee find that the Deputy Commissioner was right in preventing the crowd from proceeding further in this direction, and that the firing which was ordered to secure this object was completely justified and in no way exceeded the requirements of the occasion. Similarly on the second occasion on which firing was ordered at the Hall Bridge they justify the action taken and agree that the necessity of the occasion was not exceeded.

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15. The Committee then describe the violent excesses which were committed by the mob in the city. At the National Bank the manager and assistant manager were brutally beaten to death: their bodies were burnt under piles of furniture, and the building itself was sacked, set on fire, and completely gutted, while the bank godowns were looted of their contents. The Alliance Bank was next attacked and its manager was cruelly murdered, being flung from the balcony on to the street where his body was burnt under a stack of furniture soaked in kerosene oil. The building itself was spared, presumably because it was Indian-owned. The Committee condemn the police at the kotwali for failing to take steps to prevent these outrages, holding that the officers in charge might have prevented them but failed either to grasp, or to attempt to cope with, their responsibility. The Chartered Bank which was also attacked escaped through police intervention. The Town Hall and post office were burnt and the telegraph office attacked but saved by the jemadar of the station guard who fired on the mob. The Committee hold the firing at the telegraph office to be justifiable. They proceed to describe the looting of the goods station, the murders of Guard Robinson and Sergeant Rowlands, the murderous attacks on Mr. Bennett and Miss Sherwood, the determined search for Mrs. Easdon, the burning of various buildings including the Indian Christian Church, and the persistent efforts to injure communications and isolate Amritsar. The mob violence is described as anti-Government and anti-European and the gravity of the situation is made abundantly clear. In the course of a single day property to the value of seventeen lakhs of rupees was destroyed.

16. Later that day reinforcements in the shape of troops arrived and in the evening the Commissioner of the Division gave verbal instructions to the commanding officer that as the situation was beyond civil control he, as senior military officer, should take such steps as the military situation demanded. On the evening of the 11th the Commissioner left for Lahore and General Dyer arrived at Amritsar where he took over charge of the troops. The Deputy Commissioner made over formal charge to him at midnight of that day. Generally speaking the Committee find no serious ground for criticism in regard to the action taken before the 13th April. The general conclusion of the Committee is that between the 10th and 12th the civil authorities had become powerless, and that the state of affairs on the 11th was inevitably leading to a state of *de facto* martial law, that the authorities were justified in the measures which they took to suppress disorder, including the cutting off of light and water supplies, and that they acted wisely in not attempting to take sterner and more resolute action to regain control within the city on the 11th and 12th.

17. The minority say that they are in general agreement with the statement of facts set out in Chapter III of the majority report, except where they specifically differ. They agree that all the firing which took place on the 10th April was justified and they differ on one point only. While the majority say that the firing at the bridge was in no sense the cause of the mob excesses of the 10th, the minority hold that, although the excesses were altogether inexcusable and without justification, the mob had not any previous fixed intention of committing excesses, but after the firing lost their heads and were seized by a mad frenzy to commit nefarious deeds.

18. We desire at this point to review the situation and the measures taken at Amritsar up to and including the 12th April. We endorse the finding of the Com-

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mittee that the situation was one of great difficulty and consider that the action taken by the authorities was generally justified. We think, however, it is to be regretted that the civil authorities considered it incumbent upon them, before the proclamation of martial law, to hand over control to the military in such terms as to suggest that they did not intend to exercise supervision or guidance over the action of the military commander. The result was to place the latter in a position of great difficulty and to impose upon him a grave responsibility which, in the opinion of the Government of India, should have continued to be shared by the civil authorities up to a later stage. It is not clear who was actually responsible for the complete abdication of civil authority, but the Government of India propose to make further enquiry into this matter and to pass such orders as may be necessary.

19. The Committee next deal with the events at Jallianwala Bagh on the 13th. They describe the place and give a full account of all the facts and circumstances of the firing, stating the number of rounds fired—1,650, and the extent of the casualties, the dead being estimated at 379 and the wounded at three times that number. They criticise General Dyer adversely on two grounds, (1) that he opened fire without warning, and (2) that he went on firing after the crowd had begun to disperse. On the first point, they say that the only person who can judge whether notice should properly be given on such an occasion is the military officer concerned. The Committee point out however that General Dyer does not suggest the existence of an emergency justifying his decision to fire on the crowd without warning. He stated before the Committee that his mind was made up as he came along that if his orders were disobeyed he was going to fire at once. They think it distinctly improbable that the crowd would have dispersed without being fired on, as most of those present had assembled in direct defiance of a proclamation. Nevertheless they say that notice would have afforded those who had assembled in ignorance of the proclamation and others an opportunity to leave the assembly. In continuing to fire as long as he did, even after the crowd had begun to disperse, General Dyer, in the opinion of the Committee, committed a grave error, though they consider that he honestly believed on the information then before him and his appreciation of the existing military situation that he was called upon to take this step in the discharge of his duty. They find further that it was his intention to create a moral effect throughout the Punjab and they condemn this as a mistaken conception of his duty. As regards General Dyer's failure to attend to the wounded, they say that he had a very small force with him and, as he explained, the hospitals were open and no application was made to him for help. In conclusion, they do not accept the view that General Dyer's action saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to the mutiny.

20. In dealing with the events of Jallianwala Bagh, the minority find that the notice prohibiting the meeting was not adequately published and they criticise General Dyer severely, (1) for suggesting that he would have made use of machine guns if they could have been brought into action, (2) for opening fire without warning and continuing after the crowd had begun to disperse until his ammunition was spent, (3) for firing not merely to disperse the crowd but to punish it and to produce a moral effect in the Punjab, and (4) for assuming that the crowd before him consisted of the persons guilty of the outrages of the 10th. They maintain that it is immaterial whether General Dyer thought he was doing right or not and that the plea of military necessity will not avail him, as this plea is always

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used in justification of Prussian atrocities. They do not agree with the majority that it was probable that the crowd could not have been dispersed without firing, citing General Dyer himself in support of their opinion: and they describe his action as inhuman and un-British and as having caused great disservice to British rule in India. They attribute his conduct to a fixed idea that India must be ruled by force and they condemn his action in not taking steps for the removal of the dead and the care of the wounded. Finally, they criticise the failure of the Punjab Government to ascertain without delay the number of casualties. It should be here stated that the result of official enquiries which included a careful scrutiny of the information gathered by the Sewa Samiti (a Social Service Society) places the figures at 379 killed and 192 wounded. It is almost certain that the latter figure omits many who were only slightly wounded, but as an estimate of the more serious casualties the combined figure is probably nearer the truth than any estimate based only on a rule of proportion, such as that stated by General Dyer in his evidence before the Committee to be not beyond the bounds of possibility.

21. The difference in the measure of condemnation of General Dyer by the majority and the minority and the attention which has been directed to the events at Jallianwala Bagh both in England and in India, necessitate a careful examination by Government of the extent to which General Dyer should be held to be blameworthy. Looking to the specific findings on which the condemnation of his action is based, we consider that the orders prohibiting assemblies should have been promulgated more widely and in particular that notices might have been posted up at Jallianwala Bagh, which had become a favourite assembly ground for political meetings. We think also that notice might have been given at the Baisakhi fair where many people from villages in the vicinity had collected. At the same time it is the case that the proclamation was made by beat of drum in the presence of General Dyer himself, and notices were published at nineteen places in the city: it cannot therefore be doubted that most of the residents of Amritsar present at the meeting were aware of the orders and collected in defiance of them.

The Government of India agree with the Committee that General Dyer should have given warning to the crowd before opening fire. It is true that he had only a small force with him and that in view of this circumstance and the previous successes of the forces of disorder it is most improbable that an excited and defiant mob would have dispersed on a mere warning, but those ignorant of the order, including the villagers who had come to visit the Baisakhi fair, and indeed others would have had an opportunity of leaving the assembly if reasonable notice had been given to them. The Government of India agree that there was not such an emergency existing as to render this precaution impossible.

General Dyer's action in continuing to fire on the crowd after it had begun to disperse was, in the opinion of the Government of India, indefensible. He fired continuously for ten minutes during which time 1,650 rounds were expended. It is probable that General Dyer's action so intimidated the lawless elements in the population of Amritsar and neighbouring districts of the Central Punjab as to prevent further manifestations of disorder. The Government of India cannot however accept this as a justification of the continued firing which greatly exceeded the necessity of the occasion. The dispersal of the crowd was indeed a matter of vital importance in view of the situation which then existed in Amritsar and stern measures to effect this end were certainly required. In our opinion however much more

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restricted military force would have sufficed to produce this effect and General Dyer's action has undoubtedly left behind bitterness of feeling which will take long to pass away. He was no doubt faced with a position of great difficulty: he was apprehensive of Amritsar being isolated and he had before him the danger of allowing mob rule to continue after the terrible events of the 10th. Giving all due weight to these considerations, the deliberate conclusion at which we have arrived is that General Dyer exceeded the reasonable requirements of the case and showed a misconception of his duty which resulted in a lamentable and unnecessary loss of life. Although we are constrained to this decision, we are convinced that General Dyer acted honestly in the belief that he was doing what was right and we think that in the result his action at the time checked the spread of the disturbances to an extent which it is difficult now to estimate. This was the opinion of many intelligent observers in the Punjab. There remains the question of the failure to arrange for medical aid after the firing at Jallianwala Bagh. Here too we must express our great regret that no action was taken either by the civil or the military authorities to remove the dead or give aid to the wounded. The minority criticize Sir Michael O'Dwyer for expressing approval of the action taken at Jallianwala Bagh. On this point the Government of India have little to add to the account given by the late Lieutenant-Governor of the circumstances in which his approval was conveyed, but making every allowance for the difficult position in which Sir Michael O'Dwyer was placed, the Government of India think that he would have acted more wisely, if, before expressing any approval of General Dyer's action on this occasion, he had taken steps to ascertain the facts and circumstances of the firing more fully.

We desire to add here that our Honourable Colleague Mr. Shafi agrees generally with the minority in their findings of fact as regards Amritsar and the inferences deduced therefrom, where these differ from the findings and conclusions of the majority. He rejects the theory that General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh saved the situation in the Punjab and averted a rebellion on a scale similar to that of the Mutiny. In his opinion the disturbances on and after the 14th of April in the districts of Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lyallpur were the results of the commotion caused by the Jallianwala Bagh affair.

22. We cannot leave this tragic occurrence without adverting to the charge that a veil of secrecy was deliberately thrown around it, the public being left to infer that the sinister policy of concealment has only been foiled by the revelations made before the Committee of Enquiry in December last. The insinuation is devoid of foundation. When the outbreaks of disorder occurred, the immediate necessity was to quell them and restore order. At a very early stage His Excellency the Viceroy decided that it was incumbent upon Government to hold an enquiry into the disturbances and the administration of martial law. In this opinion you concurred and in the third week of May in a speech in the House of Commons you made the following announcement:—

"As regards these troubles which I have been describing, as questions have been asked from time to time and resolutions have been moved demanding an enquiry, the Viceroy has always contemplated an enquiry. You cannot have disturbances of this magnitude without an enquiry into the causes and the measures taken to cope with these disturbances,

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but no announcement has been made of enquiry up to this moment for this reason; let us talk of an enquiry when we have put the fire out."

This announcement is entirely incompatible with the suggestion of a conspiracy on the part of either the Government of India or the Secretary of State to suppress or conceal the details of the occurrence.

As a result of further communications between us the present Committee was appointed. The question of the composition of the Committee received the most careful consideration, as Government were determined that it should be a body of commanding weight and high judicial experience in which perfect confidence could be reposed by the public, both at home and in India. An announcement of the impending appointment of the Committee was made in the Imperial Legislative Council during its autumn session of September last. Apart from a general enquiry of this character the question whether the investigation of particular incidents should be deferred till the Committee assembled or should form the subject of preliminary proceedings had been carefully considered. Finally, however, we decided with your concurrence that such preliminary enquiries were inadvisable.

In considering whether preliminary enquiries should be held, the case of Jallianwala Bagh had received prominent notice, and after the decision the collection of information continued. The first report of the firing on the crowd at Jallianwala Bagh received by the Government of India on the 14th April placed the casualties at 200. This was supplemented two days later by a report that 200 was the number of killed. These reports were at once repeated to the Secretary of State. Fuller reports were not received till a later date. In the second half of April, General Dyer was fully occupied in marching troops throughout the disturbed area. Very early in May, owing to the outbreak of the Afghan war, he was selected for the command of the Kohat Brigade. From that date till the end of July he was continuously engaged in field operations; and his detailed report on the administration of martial law in Amritsar, including the firing at Jallianwala Bagh was not received till the month of August. Meanwhile the local Government had been pursuing enquiries to obtain accurate statistics regarding the extent of the casualties. The information elicited up to the end of August, which was confirmed by a scrutiny of the results of private enquiries made by the Sewa Samiti, showed that the ascertained death roll was then 291 and this was the figure stated at the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held in Simla on the 11th September. During this same session of the Council full accounts were given of the happenings in the Punjab and the story of Jallianwala Bagh was discussed in great detail. The proceedings of the debate were fully reported and published in the usual manner and indeed attracted great attention in India. The official enquiries, however, continued, and when the Chief Secretary to the Punjab Government gave evidence before the Committee four months later he stated that the total number of death casualties as then ascertained was 379, while a more recent report of the local Government, based on a scrutiny of the Sewa Samiti's information, places the number of wounded at 192.

From the time that it was decided to appoint the Committee, Government thought it proper to avoid as far as possible making any public comments on the transactions which it was the duty of the Committee to examine and to refrain from passing any judgment on the conduct of individual officers until they received the report of that body. There is no justification for the allegation that from the

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date of these occurrences until the publication of General Dyer's evidence before the Committee, the Government of India had been guilty of following a policy of deliberate suppression of the truth. The facts stated above clearly refute this libel.

It is no doubt a matter for regret that without resort to a formal enquiry full knowledge of what actually occurred should not have become general earlier. But the chapter is closed, and as Government and the public both in India and the United Kingdom are now in complete possession of the facts, recriminations and regrets serve no useful purpose.

23. Chapter IV deals with the disorders in the Lahore district. In the Capital itself the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills and the complete *hartal* of the 6th April had worked the people up to a state of intense excitement, which the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and of the disturbances at Amritsar brought to a head on the afternoon of the 10th. Crowds assembled in the city and endeavoured to overpower the police when the latter opposed their advance towards the civil lines. The Committee have carefully considered the circumstances under which fire was opened on this mob under the orders of the District Magistrate, Mr. Fyson, and the Superintendent of Police, Mr. Broadway, on three occasions in the course of that afternoon, and they fully approve the action taken by these two officers. The Government of India are unable to think that any other conclusion is possible. The outrages at Amritsar were known at the time to the mob when it was proceeding to the civil lines and it would have been suicidal to allow it to succeed in its endeavour. The position in Lahore, after these attempts of the crowd to enter the civil lines had been repelled, is thus described by the Committee :—

> "On the night of 10th April and for some days following, the city of Lahore was in a dangerously disturbed condition. Military measures were taken on that night to protect the civil station and its surroundings. No European could safely enter the city, from which the police were temporarily withdrawn. For about two days the city was controlled by the mob."

The Committee then describe the events of the 11th, the inflammatory speeches delivered at the Badshahi mosque to excited crowds of Hindus and Muhammadans, the organization of the *Danda Fauj*, a band of hooligans, who marched through the city armed with sticks (*lathis*) and destroyed pictures of Their Majesties, shouting that King George was dead. Attempts were made on the morning of the 11th to pull down the railings at the Fort, where some of the rioters spat at the British soldiers on guard and called them "white pigs." On the same day the railway workshop was attacked and determined efforts were made to bring about a strike amongst the workers. On the 12th another meeting was held at the Badshahi Mosque, when an officer of the Criminal Investigation Department was severely beaten by the mob. On the same day a mixed column of police and military was marched through the city in an effort to regain control of the situation. The march was hindered by large crowds, assembled at the Hira Mandi, who refused to disperse when so directed by the District Magistrate and began to stone the small advance force of police which was with him. Mr. Fyson was obliged to open fire with the result that one man was killed and twenty wounded. The Committee consider that it was essential on this day to disperse the crowd and that it would have been the end of all chance of restoring order in Lahore if the police and troops

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had left without dispersing it. All the firing was done by the police. The fact that the police, armed with buckshot, were made to take the brunt of the collision with the crowd instead of the troops with service ammunition, the small number of shots fired by the police, and the warnings given to the crowd, showed, in the opinion of the Committee, that the greatest care was taken and the least possible degree of force was used.

Special attention is invited by the Committee to the use of inflammatory and seditious posters in Lahore, which in the name of Mahatma Gandhi called upon the brave people of the Punjab to enlist in the *Danda Fauj* and kill the English who were described as pigs, monkeys and kafirs. On the 13th April the district was proclaimed under the Seditious Meetings Act. On the same date the station of Wagah, about 14 miles off, was burnt and sacked, telegraph lines cut and an armoured train derailed, fortunately without loss of life. On the 14th the Punjab Government deported the local leaders, Rambhaj Dutt, Harkishan Lal and Duni Chand, who had been actively associated with the agitation and the still-continuing *hartal*: all these men were convicted later of the offence of waging war. On the 15th April martial law was proclaimed in Lahore.

24. The second portion of Chapter IV describes the very serious disturbances which occurred on the 12th April at Kasur, a sub-divisional town, 37 miles south-east of Lahore. On the morning of that day a violent mob attacked the railway station, and after destroying and burning a considerable quantity of valuable property, turned their attention to three trains which were held up near the station. Murderous attacks were made on a number of Europeans, including a lady and three children, who were travelling by these trains; some of them had miraculous escapes, but three persons were severely injured and two unfortunate warrant officers were beaten to death. Elated by their success, the mob next burnt down the post office and a civil court, and attacked the sub-divisional offices where the police were obliged to fire in defence of Government property with the result that four men were killed and several wounded. The Committee uphold the decision to fire upon the mob and think indeed that it should have been fired on at an earlier stage. Troops arrived from Ferozepore on the afternoon of the 12th and averted further trouble. Outbursts of disorder occurred at two other places in Lahore district, at Khem Karan on the 12th when the railway station was attacked with some resultant damage, and at Patti, where telegraph wires were cut on the night of the 11th and the post office and railway station were attacked on the 12th.

We accept all the findings of the majority, in which the minority concur, with regard to the disturbances in Lahore district and the measures taken to suppress them. We consider that praise is due to Messrs. Fyson and Broadway for their handling of the difficult situation in Lahore city.

25. Chapter V deals with the very serious outbreak at Gujranwala which is a town of 30,000 inhabitants about 36 miles north of Lahore. There had been here as elsewhere the usual agitation against the Rowlatt Bill and a complete *hartal* was observed on the 6th April but no violence had occurred or was anticipated till the 13th, when the news of the happenings at Amritsar and Lahore on the 10th gave rise to local excitement. That evening the authorities learnt that further demonstrations were intended next day and the acting Deputy Commissioner took such police precautions as seemed to him necessary. The Committee describe in detail the outrages which were committed in the town on the 14th including the

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attack on a train, the setting fire to the Gurukul bridge, the burning of many buildings, and numerous injuries to railway and telegraph communications. The mob had obtained complete mastery and the police were unable to stop the senseless destruction of property which occurred or to secure the safety of the European and loyal population. The post office, the revenue office, the church, and the district court were all burnt down. The jail and the police lines were attacked but were saved by the police firing. The mob then returned to the railway station, set the buildings and goods sheds on fire, and looted their contents. Those European families which had not been sent away as a precautionary measure on the previous evening were collected for safety in the Treasury, which was protected by a small police guard. Communications meanwhile had been interrupted on every side; by the end of the day practically all the wires along the railway in front of the city were cut for a distance of some miles. On account of this interruption of communications, it was impossible to send ordinary military aid to Gujranwala and it was in these circumstances that the use of aeroplanes for the relief of the town was sanctioned. The police were nearly exhausted when about three o'clock in the afternoon three aeroplanes from Lahore arrived over the town. It was not till nine o'clock that night that the first troops arrived.

The important findings of the majority regarding events at Gujranwala are (1) that Mr. Heron's action in firing on the mob is entirely approved; (2) that the conduct of the acting Deputy Commissioner in refusing to allow firing when the mob attacked the post office is open to criticism; (3) that the mob was seeking to imitate what had been done at Amritsar; (4) that the decision to use bomb-carrying aeroplanes was justified in the circumstances, though recourse to the use of aeroplanes in civil disorders cannot be defended save in cases of the utmost urgency; and (5) that generally speaking, the action of the aeroplane officer, Major Carberry, was justified but that his instructions were defective. On all these points the Government of India are in entire agreement with the Committee and desire to commend Mr. Heron who behaved well in circumstances of great difficulty. The Committee find that the dropping of bombs on two outlying villages and on the Khalsa High School cannot be defended but the fault lay chiefly with the instructions given to Major Carberry and they impute no blame to him for a decision taken in the air and at the moment. They observe that the dropping of bombs on the riotous crowds within Gujranwala city was not only justified but, in their view, invaluable, and the fact that the disorders were ended long before troops arrived is in large measure attributable to this act. They say that no sufficient explanation has been given to justify the use of an aeroplane on the 15th of April for purposes of offensive action, and they conclude by recommending that the instructions to be issued to Air Force officers regarding the procedure to be followed by them on such occasions should form the subject of careful enquiry by the Air Force Headquarters.

The minority discuss the employment of aeroplanes in Chapter IV which is entitled "Armoured Trains and Aeroplanes." They agree with the majority in saying that the use of aeroplanes to quell civil disorders should as far as possible be deprecated. They condemn Major Carberry for dropping bombs on the Khalsa High School and two outlying villages, and say that though the orders he received were not worded with sufficient care, he did not exercise his discretion wisely in carrying them out. They find also that his action in firing with a machine gun on the crowd was excessive.

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26. So far as the general question of the use of aeroplanes at Gujranwala is concerned, the Government of India accept the finding of the majority which is aptly expressed as follows:—"We are not prepared to lay down as a charter for rioters that when they succeed in preventing the ordinary resources of Government from being utilized to suppress them, they are to be exempt from having to reckon with such resources as remain." We do not consider that it would be right to censure the officers who have been mentioned in connection with individual incidents, as their acts, where condemned, are more to be ascribed to want of clearness in their instructions than to errors of judgment. We think that the despatch of aeroplanes on the 15th under instructions which admitted of their being used for offensive action was not justified but we do not consider that the officer who carried out the instructions was seriously to blame. We note, however, with satisfaction that, so far as known, no casualties resulted from the action taken on this date. Finally, we propose to take steps to give effect to the recommendation of the majority that the instructions to be issued to Air Force officers on such occasions should be carefully prescribed.

27. There were outbreaks of disorder at fourteen other places in the Gujranwala district, but the Committee discuss those only which occurred at Wazirabad, a town of 20,000 inhabitants 20 miles north of Gujranwala, at Akalgarh, and Hafizabad, and in the Shekhupura sub-division. At Wazirabad a riotous mob was repelled from the railway buildings, but did extensive damage to the telegraph system. It also set fire to railway bridges, sacked and burnt the bungalow of a Scotch missionary, and made an unsuccessful attempt to wreck the mail train. At Akalgarh and Hafizabad extensive damage was done to the telegraph wires, and at the latter place an officer of the Military Farms Department had a fortunate escape from the murderous intentions of a threatening crowd. In the Shekhupura sub-division persistent and determined attacks on the telegraph and railway systems were made at Chuharkhana, Shekhupura, Sangla and other places, at least three railway stations being destroyed, while savage assaults were made on certain railway employés and Government servants. An armoured train was sent to the rescue from Lahore, and fire was opened from this at Chuharkhana under the orders of Rai Sahib Lala Sri Ram Sud, Extra Assistant Commissioner of Sharakpur. The Committee find that this officer acted in a difficult situation with promptitude and decision. The minority take a different view and condemn him on the ground that his intention was punishment and that the firing was therefore not justified. The Government of India accept the opinions of the majority in all matters arising out of the distrubances at these places and agree with them that Lala Sri Ram Sud displayed promptitude and decision in the discharge of his duties.

28. Chapters VI and VII describe the events which occurred in the Gujrat and Lyallpur districts respectively. The chief features of the disturbances in these areas were attacks on railway communications and telegraph wires. At Gujrat on the 15th April fire had to be opened on a riotous mob which was dispersed without casualties. At Malakwal a train was derailed on the 17th April and two lives were lost. In Lyallpur a very disquieting and prominent feature was the continued exhibition of posters of an inflammatory and criminal character. Indians were called upon, in the blessed name of Mahatma Gandhi, to fight to the death against English cheats and to dishonour English women. Great tension existed for several days and the situation at Lyallpur was an anxiety to Government on

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account of the memories of the previous troubles of 1907. The position was so serious that the Europeans in the station were collected for safety in two houses in the civil lines, but no actual violence occurred except the cutting of telegraph wires at a few places in the district. The arrival of troops on the 17th April prevented any further disorder.

The Committee have not described in detail the acts of violence and disorder which occurred in many other towns and places in the Punjab, but these are set forth in the chronological statement annexed to the report and it is necessary to bear them in mind in considering the position as it appeared to the local Government when the proclamation of martial law was recommended.

29. Chapter VIII describes the persistent and widespread attacks on the railway and telegraph systems, which continued from the 10th April till about the end of the month. According to a report of the Telegraph Department, the wires were cut or tampered with on 55 occasions, but there were besides numerous attacks on railway telegraphs and the total number of outrages of this class cited by the Home Member at a Council meeting in September last according to a statement of the Punjab Government was 132. The Committee ascribe the attacks on communications partly to anti-Government feeling and partly to the desire to prevent the movement of troops. They also refer to the persistent attempts which were made to incite the railway staff to strike. The unrest prevailing amongst certain sections of the staff was a cause of great anxiety to Government at this critical time.

The importance of this chapter lies in the close bearing it has on the question of the justification for the introduction and continuance of martial law. The significance of the statistics of railway and telegraph interruptions is brought forcibly home by the maps attached to the report. These indicate the extended area over which this class of offence was committed, giving rise to a suspicion of preconcerted action.

30. In Chapter IX the Committee discuss the causes of the disturbances and say that an adequate explanation of the general and widespread outbreaks in the Punjab must be sought in the causes of a general state of unrest and discontent amongst the people, particularly the inhabitants of the larger towns. The increased interest in political agitation caused in recent years by the Home Rule movement received a great impetus from the new doctrine of self-determination. Meanwhile however the restrictions imposed under the Defence of India Act were becoming more essential, as the war drew to its climax. These restrictions affected the daily life of the ordinary citizen much more lightly in India than in Europe; nevertheless, particularly when imposed on political agitation, they were, however necessary, the more galling to the educated classes, in view of the fact that the political future of India was under consideration. The Punjab was meanwhile doing more than its share to respond to the call of the Empire for recruits for the army, and the strain was falling mainly on the country districts, which the local Government considered it necessary to protect from any anti-Government agitation likely to hamper the work of recruitment. After the conclusion of the Armistice in November 1918 hopes ran high amongst the educated classes that the services rendered by India in the war would receive immediate recognition. But these hopes were not at once fulfilled and disappointment was caused by a combina-

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tion of circumstances, such as high prices, scarcity, food stuff restrictions, and the anxieties of the peace settlement, especially as it affected Turkey.

The Committee next consider the agitation against the Rowlatt Bills. They find that this was largely, if not mainly, responsible for creating the feeling against Government which provoked such serious disorders and they cite various false rumours as to the provisions of the Bill which inflamed popular feeling. They next examine the history and progress of the *Satyagraha* movement inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi on the 24th February. After a careful review of this movement in all its aspects, the Committee find that a familiarity and sympathy with disobedience to laws was engendered by it amongst large numbers of people and that the law-abiding instincts which stand between society and outbreaks of violence were undermined at a time when their full strength was required. From its first inception the *Satyagraha* movement was condemned by prominent leaders of moderate opinion in India as likely to promote disorder and breach of the peace, and the organizer himself recognized later than in embarking on a mass movement he had underrated the forces of evil. The Committee expressly find that the recruiting campaign and the action taken in the Punjab to raise subscriptions to the war loans were not responsible for the unrest. They conclude by saying that there is no evidence that the outbreaks in the Punjab were the result of a pre-arranged conspiracy to overthrow the British Government in India by force, but that it was difficult and probably unsafe for Government not to assume that the outbreak was the result of a definite organization. Apart from the existence of any deeply laid scheme to overthrow the British, a movement which had started in rioting and become a rebellion might have rapidly developed into a revolution.

31. In the introductory chapter of their report the minority state that they are in substantial agreement with the findings of the majority as regards the causes of the disturbances, with this reservation that they do not concur in the opinion that the Punjab authorities were justified in assuming that the outbreak was the result of a definite organization. They are unable to agree that the riots were in the nature of a rebellion and they say that it is an unjustifiable exaggeration to suggest that the events might have developed into a revolution. They entirely agree with the majority in their estimate of the *Satyag aha* movement and its off-shoot, civil disobedience of laws. They develop their views on the real character of the disorders, including their causes, more fully in Chapter II of their report. Here they refer to the general conditions existing in the beginning of 1919, the strain placed on India by her war efforts, the hardship of high-prices, the inconveniences and restraints imposed by war measures, the hope of alleviation excited by the armistice, and the subsequent disappointment caused by famine, epidemic and a more stringent Income-tax Act, the belief that the proposals of the Government of India as regards the reform scheme were illiberal and intended to whittle it down, and the delay of the Turkish settlement. They argue that many of the foregoing causes affected the Punjab more than other provinces and they instance other special factors such as war weariness, foodstuff and traffic restrictions, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's speeches, press restrictions, the orders prohibiting the entry into the province of outside politicians, all tending to cause general irritation amongst the educated classes. While refraining from any discussion of the merits of the Rowlatt Act they hold that its introduction and enactment in the face of Indian opinion was a fertile source of discontent which was fostered by misrepre-

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sentations in the Punjab. They assert that Indian leaders were not responsible for these misrepresentations, and they condemn Government for failing to explain the Act to the masses until after the *hartal* of April the 6th, although misrepresentations were current before that date. They accept the estimate of the *Satyagraha* movement formed by the majority, but they disclaim the view that the disorders in the Punjab can be attributed to any active presentation of the *Satyagraha* doctrine by organizations working within the province. They find that there was no organization to bring about disturbances and they quote the evidence of various official witnesses in support of this conclusion. The anti-British and anti-Government outbursts which occurred were in their opinion purely the result of sudden mob frenzy. The minority conclude that although there was thus no evidence of organised conspiracy in the Punjab, the civil and military authorities persuaded themselves that open rebellion existed and took action accordingly.

32. The Government of India accept the findings of the Committee regarding the causes of the disturbances. The minority as stated above, are in substantial agreement with the majority on this subject. Of the causes specially mentioned by the minority they agree that epidemics and a new Income-tax Act were factors in the unrest, and this latter cause may have accounted in part for the extent to which the movement enlisted the sympathy of the trading classes. The despatches containing the views of the Government of India on the Reform proposals were not published till long after the disturbances, and if, as is suggested by the minority, the supposed attitude of the Government was a cause of unrest this must have been due to deliberate misrepresentation. Moreover, so far as is known, no such allegations were made either in the press or on the public platform before the disorders actually broke out. The minority assign as one of the causes of the unrest which proceeded the outbreak in the Punjab the attitude of Sir Michael O'Dwyer forwards the educated classes and the resentment which they allege was produced thereby. The efforts made by the larger land-owners and men of leading in rural areas to promote recruiting during the war had brought these classes into prominence and had secured a generous recognition from the local Government. For this and other reasons a tendency had sprung up towards cleavage between the rural classes and the trading and professional classes from which the intelligentia is mainly drawn. This may have created amongst the latter an impression that their political influence was being curtailed. The Government of India agree with the Committee that misrepresentations of the Rowlatt Act were an important cause of the outbreak. Such misrepresentations were freely circulated and their harmful effects were incalculable. Government were unaware of the dissemination of these malicious falsehoods until the beginning of April when they at once took action to contradict them. It is unfortunate that neither in the press nor on the public platform did those who attacked the Act endeavour to remove the effects of these misrepresentations. Whether it is correct or not to say, as the minority do, that the disorders in the Punjab were not due to any active presentation of the *Satyagraha* doctrine within the province, we must place on record our belief that many of those who joined the *Satyagraha* movement did so with the intention of using it for the purpose of promoting disorder. Finally we desire to observe that the opinion of the minority regarding the nature of the disorders is discounted by their findings of fact, while the conclusion of the majority that a movement which started in rioting became a rebellion is supported by the conviction before various tribunals of a

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large number of persons for the offence of waging war against the King. These convictions, in the opinion of the Government of India, are of great importance in reaching a decision as to the true character of the disorders.

But whatever the truth may be as to the causes which produced these disorders and grave as the outbreak was in its nature and effects, it must not be forgotten that the loyalty of India as a whole remained unshaken and that even in the Punjab the bulk of the population maintained its reputation and did not fall a victim to the infection which so disastrously affected a portion of it.

33. There is one point in the discussion of causes to which the Government of India desire to advert at greater length. It has been represented that the action taken by Government against prominent politicians, such as Mr. Gandhi and Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, was the cause and not merely the occasion of the disturbances. This is sufficiently disproved by the fact already pointed out that the *Satyagraha* movement had led to grave disorders in Delhi long before any such action was taken. But the circumstances in which Mr. Gandhi was excluded from Delhi and the Punjab deserve fuller examination.

The situation about the end of March has already been described. The acute state of tension which continued in Delhi for some days after the outbreak of the 30th March greatly increased the potentialities of danger of the *Satyagraha* movement in other parts of India, where the news of the Delhi rioting caused great excitement. The events of that date might indeed well have conveyed to the promoters of the movement a warning of the dangers which were attendant on their propaganda, but actually they were far from doing so. The agitation accompanied by increasing excitement continued unchecked all over the country.

It was at this critical juncture that we received information that Mr. Gandhi had vigorously renewed his campaign of civil disobedience to the laws, and on the 9th we heard that he had left Bombay for Delhi on the previous evening. Immediately on receiving this news, we consulted the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. Both these officers considered that the situation had become serious and that it would be most dangerous to allow Mr. Gandhi to enter their jurisdictions. His avowed intention was to break the law of the land and to secure adherents to the *Satyagraha* movement. His arrest and prosecution in the Punjab would in all probability have been the signal for an outbreak, and the enlistment of any large number of supporters to his movement in that province would almost certainly have led to an immediate campaign of active resistance and outrage. The Chief Commissioner considered that an order merely prohibiting Mr. Gandhi from entering Delhi would be very dangerous, as the only method of enforcing it would be to arrest, detain and prosecute him in that city. On the other hand, if he were allowed to enter Delhi, it was most probable that he would break the law there and would have to be arrested and tried for an offence, with the result that there would almost certainly be a recurrence of the recent serious rioting. In these circumstances the Government of India authorised the local Governments of the Punjab and Delhi to issue orders under rule 3 (*b*) of the Defence of India Rules, directing Mr. Gandhi to remain in the Bombay Presidency. The Government of India then considered, and still consider, that this course was amply justified in view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi was the leading spirit of a movement intended to paralyze Government.

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34. In the same way it has been suggested that the action of the Punjab Government in ordering the deportation of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal on the 10th April was a provocative act leading direct to the subsequent outrages. Previous orders had been passed prohibiting them from speaking in public, and it is true that they had not taken an open part in the meetings immediately preceding the *hartal* of the 6th April. But as the evidence subsequently taken before the martial law commission showed, they held secret meetings after that date and continued to direct an agitation which was found to be of the nautre of a criminal conspiracy. It was in these circumstances that the local Government decided to remove them from Amritsar to Dharamsala. That outrages followed as soon as the news of the deportation became known is of course the case. But it is always a question of the greatest difficulty to judge whether preventive steps such as those taken will, in a time of great popular excitement, quiet the general atmosphere or precipitate disorder. The probability seemed to be that they would achieve the former result.

35. Chapter X of the Report contains a statement of the facts regarding the successive stages in the application of martial law. Chapter XI discusses the propriety of its introduction and continuance. The majority of the Committee, as already mentioned, definitely find that a state of rebellion against Government existed. They review the various occurrences, indicate the broad features of the disorders and their significance, point out the danger of criticising isolated events and examine the whole position as it presented itself to the Punjab Government and the Government of India. Finally they conclude that the situation in the Punjab was one of extreme gravity and that the authorities were justified in declaring martial law in those areas where it was proclaimed.

The wisdom of continuing martial law is discussed at some length, and the prolongation of it on the railway is examined with special reference to the Afghan War. The conclusion of the majority is that those responsible for the continuance of martial law gave careful and considerate judgment to the question and did not prolong it beyond the time during which to the best of their judgment it was necessary for the maintenance and restoration of order in the province. Looking to the problem with which Government was faced, the Committee do not think they would be justified in adversely criticising the decision. On the question of the enforcement and continuance of martial law the minority differ widely from the majority. They find that the introduction of martial law was not necessary, because in their opinion order had been restored everywhere and the authority of Government vindicated before martial law was applied. They think that order could have been restored by the civil power with the aid of the military, and that the Punjab Government persuaded themselves rather easily that martial law was necessary. The reasons for the continuance of martial law are also examined and rejected. Assuming that the introduction of martial law was necessary they say that it ought not to have been continued beyond a few days. The Punjab Government, they think, approached the question from a wrong point of view and the Government of India were guided by the local Government.

36. In considering the necessity for the declaration of martial law it is difficult for the Government of India to take an entirely detached view. We were necessarily guided by the information forwarded by the local Government: we had alrealy received reports of grave disorder occurring in various places: and we maintain

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the view that with this information before us, we could not have taken any other course than we actually adopted, when we received from Lahore on the afternoon of the 13th April the wireless message which ran as follows :—"Railway stations between Kasur and Amritsar looted. British soldier killed and two British officers injured at Kasur. Bands of rebels reported on move—Kasur and Tarn Taran treasuries attacked. State of open rebellion exists in parts of districts of Lahore and Amritsar. Lieutenant-Governor with concurrence of General Officer Commanding, 16th Division, and Chief Justice of the High Court, requests Governor General in Council to suspend functions of ordinary Criminal Courts in Amritsar and Lahore Districts, to establish martial law therein, and to direct trials of offenders under section 22, Regulation X of 1804. Section 4 will be borne in mind. Situation is critical. Moveable column starts on march from Ferozepore to Amritsar through worst tract with guns to-morrow."

The action of the Government of India has now been justified by the findings of the majority of the Committee, who also exonerate the local Government from all blame. The minority accept the findings of fact as to the number of outrages committed, the animus of those engaged in the riots, the violence used and the number of times on which it was necessary to resort to firing; they also observe that the acts of some of those who took part in the disorders may have amounted in law to waging war against the King, although it was not rebellion in the sense in which that term is ordinarily used. These findings, in the opinion of the Government of India, detract largely from the force of their conclusion that the introduction of martial law was not necessary. In regard to the continuance of martial law the Government of India have nothing to add to the findings of the majority beyond stating that although martial law was maintained on the railways for a prolonged period owing to the outbreak of the Afghan War it was only employed there, after it had been withdrawn from the districts, for the purpose of controlling traffic and protecting the lines.

There is, moreover, one factor in the situation as it presented itself in April 1919 which cannot in the opinion of the Government of India be neglected without prejudice to sound judgment. At that time the British Empire was at war with Germany. Even at the present moment we are not yet at peace with all our enemies; and certainly a year ago when the treaty of peace with Germany had not yet been signed, the existence of a state of war was not a mere technicality. Allusion has already been made to the additional pre-occupation which intervened in the shape of war with Afghanistan, and the difficulties thus created were enhanced by the attitude of the frontier tribes. But at the back of and accentuating these more local difficulties was the paramount necessity of maintaining at the call of the Empire, whose needs were abated, but not extinguished, by the armistice, the resources of the Indian Dominions of His Majesty. In the face of this necessity it was impossible to contemplate any policy which involved an appreciable risk of delay in the restoration of normal conditions or of the recrudescence of the disorders which appeared to have been supressed.

We desire to add here that our Hon'ble Colleague, Mr. Shafi, dissents from the finding of the majority of the Committee, accepted by us, that the declaration of martial law was necessary. In his opinion, there being no organised or preconceived conspiracy to subvert British rule behind these disturbances, the vast rural tract in the five districts concerned having remained tranquil and loyal, there having

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been disturbances only in a few places in the urban area, and even in these few places the majority of the residents not having taken any part in the disturbances, there was no open rebellion as alleged, and no justification in consequence for the proclamation of martial law. Besides, before the date on which martial law in these districts was actually enforced, the disturbances had been quelled with the assistance rendered by the military and, in consequence, there was no justification for enforcement or maintenance of martial law on these days and after. This being the case, Mr. Shafi is of opinion that the continuance of martial law over such a long period was uncalled for.

37. Chapter XII deals with the administration of martial law, including the working and procedure of the summary courts. The majority of the Committee find that the trials were correctly described as lengthy, detailed and careful, and commend the substitution for courts martial of tribunals similar to those under the Defence of India Act. They find, however, that although arrests were made in the ordinary way, there may have been cases in which individual police officers subjected those arrested to unnecessary severity. They observe that while the number of persons arrested and not brought to trial was regrettably large and the period of detention unusually long, on the whole this difficult work was not done badly or oppressively. The disorder was so widespread and serious that its inevitable result was to strain any improvised system. In regard to the sentences passed by the martial law courts, the Committee find that there was a general feeling that they were unnecessarily severe but that this was remedied by commutations effected by the local Government. They suggest that charges for serious offences need not have been pressed in the case of minor offenders. Extensive reductions in the sentences would not then have been necessary. The Committee also find that in certain cases, *e.g.*, those of Drs. Kitchlew and Satyapal, it is a matter for regret that the accused were not tried by the ordinary courts. These views are accepted by the Government of India. The military order prohibiting the employment of counsel from outside the Punjab is criticised as unwise and the action of the Government of India in disapproving it is commended.

38. The Committee examine at considerable length the nature of the martial law orders which were promulgated by military commanders in the Punjab. The majority find that some of the orders passed were injudicious and served no useful purpose. They ciritcise severely the "crawling" order passed by General Dyer (which was disapproved by the Lieutenant-Governor as soon as it came to his notice), the "salaming" order of General Campbell, and the "roll call" imposed by Colonel Johnson on the students of Lahore. The Government of India agree that in the instances which the Committee cite with disapproval the action of the officers mentioned was unjustifiable and in some cases inflicted unnecessary humiliation, resulting in ill-feeling which has been a serious embarrassment to the administration. The flogging of six persons, the suspected assailants of Miss Sherwood for a a breach of fort discipline on the spot where that lady was assaulted is severely criticised and the Government of India agree that the action taken in this case was highly improper. In dealing with sentences of public flogging the Committee say that under martial law administration no flogging should take place in public. They find further that the number of flogging sentences was excessive, and though it was regarded as probably the most efficacious and convenient method of dealing summarily with minor breaches of martial law regulations, restrictions ought to

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be placed on the discretion of area officers in awarding sentences of this kind. They say, however, that there is no foundation for the allegation that whipping was inflicted in a cruel fashion and that several persons practically succumbed to it. These findings the Government of India entirely accept. The Committee then refer to the infliction by summary courts of certain punishments not warranted by the law. Though these punishments were unsuitable, they were not generally of a serious nature and were often awarded in place of more severe legal punishments. The Government of India, however, disapprove of such fantastic penalties and have taken steps to prevent their being imposed in future.

39. The minority are more severe in their condemnation of the martial law administration. In addition to the criticisms already dealt with, they contend that many of the orders were issued for purely punitive purposes. They cite in particular the orders directing representatives of each ward in Lahore to appear daily before the commanding officer to ascertain his orders for the day. The curfew order, the regulation of prices, and the commandeering of motor cars, electric lights and fans from Indians are also criticised. We are not prepared to say that all these orders were without justification, but we consider that the administration of martial law in Lahore was in some respects unduly severe and exceeded its legitimate limits, that is to say, the requirements of the military situation and the maintenance of law and order. The minority condemn the order imposing on property-owners responsibility for the safety of martial law notices pasted on their houses. The Government of India are not prepared to say that in the circumstances this order was improper. The minority express their strong disapproval of the confinement of the professors and students of the Sanatan Dharm College because certain martial law notices had been destroyed. The Government of India agree that this order exceeded the necessity of the case. The minority further criticise and condemn the conduct of certain officers, notably Colonel O'Brien, Mr. Bosworth Smith and Mr. Jacob, for various orders passed by them in the administration of martial law. The Government of India agree that in the instances cited the officers mentioned acted injudiciously and in some cases improperly. While the findings of the minority report in regard to all these points are very cogent and in some cases fully justified, it must be remembered that officers charged with the administration of martial law cannot be expected to act in abnormal conditions with that care and circumspection which are possible in normal times, nor can such a standard be rigorously applied for the subsequent examination of their actions in the calm atmosphere of safety after order has been restored.

40. The minority in a separate chapter discuss the working of the courts under martial law. The flogging of some members of a marriage party in Lahore by an extra assistant commissioner is rightly condemned. The Punjab Government at once took action against the officer responsible for this abuse of power. The procedure of the summary courts is attacked as unsatisfactory. The Government of India do not think that when martial law is enforced summary courts can be required to observe the formalities of procedure which normally obtain. The minority comment more severely than the majority on the large number of persons arrested and discharged without trial. In the opinion of the Government of India arrest and detention for short periods are justifiable during a period of martial law as preventive measures to preserve the peace; further many of those arrested were not prosecuted subsequently because, though evidence was available, the necessary

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deterrent effect had already been secured by the conviction of a large number of persons for similar offences. Nevertheless, the Government of India consider that the arrest and detention for long periods of so many persons, and particularly of Dr. Kedar Nath, Mr. Gurdial Singh, Dr. Manohar Lal and six lawyers of Gurdaspur, were a serious error and while they do not overlook the difficulties of the situation, they are constrained to express their disapproval of the action taken in these cases.

In this connection we cannot pass over in silence the allegations of corruption and ill-treatment of prisoners and witnesses on the part of subordinate officers of the police and other services to which wide currency has been given. We recognise the difficulty of sifting charges made so long after the event, but we will direct the local Government to undertake enquiries and take appropriate action in cases where specific complaints are made and action has not already been taken.

41. We accept the view that the administration of martial law in the Punjab was marred in particular instances by a misuse of power, by irregularities, and by injudicious and irresponsible acts. We further agree with the Committee that while the principle of the ultimate supremacy of the military authorities must be kept in view, still in practice executive instructions should be given to all officers who may be called upon to administer martial law, which will guide them in the discharge of this duty. In our opinion it was the absence of such instructions which was responsible for many of the defects which have been noticed in the administration of martial law in the Punjab. It is to inexperience, ignorance of local conditions, and lack of guidance when confronted with an abnormal situation rather than to deliberate misuse of power that most of the mistakes committed must be ascribed. The Government of India consider that in any area in which in future it may be necessary to enforce martial law, senior civil officers should be appointed to act as advisers to the various military authorities. The military officer would not be bound in the last resort to follow the advice of his civil adviser but if he decided contrary to that advice, he would do so on his own responsibility. We regard the prevention of any future repetition of mistakes and irregularities as the most important lesson to be learnt from this portion of the report and we have accordingly decided to issue instructions which will secure this object, and will in particular discourage interference by the military authorities with the ordinary administration in excess of the necessities of the case.

42. Before leaving the subject of the working of the courts under martial law, the Government of India desire to refer to the action which was taken by the local Government, after order was restored and martial law withdrawn, to mitigate the effects of the sentences passed by these courts. Between the months of June and November sentences were reduced in 634 cases, 45 death sentences were commuted, and 43 persons were released. In November two High Court Judges were appointed to review all unexpired sentences passed by summary courts and such other cases tried by martial law commissions as might be referred to them by Government. In December, as a result of the reviewing Judges' recommendations, 92 persons convicted by summary courts were released, and further action of the same kind would have been taken, but on the 23rd of that month the Royal Proclamation with its message of amnesty was published, and under it clemency was extended to 657 prisoners who were released. By February, out of a total of 1,779 persons convicted in connection with the disturbances, only 96

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worst offenders, who had taken part in serious crimes of violence, remained in jail and this number has since been reduced to 88. The extension of clemency to political prisoners in the Punjab has been guided throughout by the generous and sympathetic recommendations of the Lieutenant Governor, whose efforts to restore a peaceful atmosphere within the province are gratefully acknowledged by the Government of India.

43. It now remains for the Government of India to endeavour to arrive at a just appreciation of the conduct of the officers of the Crown, whether civil or military, who were employed in the areas affected by these disorders and to make certain general remarks which appear to be essential before finally disposing of the Committee's report. The task of rightly estimating in a calm atmosphere, when order and peace have been restored, the behaviour of those faced with a grave emergency and compelled to arrive promptly at decisions of the greatest moment is one of unusual difficulty. The very qualities of courage and initiative, which are of incalculable value during the early stages of an outbreak, may in its later stages be a source of injury, if not tempered by discretion. Moreover, any such estimate, if it is to be just, must not neglect the difficulty of deciding when to act and when to refrain from action, and must endeavour to view the whole position in a right perspective.

It was fortunate that, when the disturbances broke out in April 1919, the Punjab was in charge of a Lieutenant-Governor of great experience and courage. The Government of India consider that Sir Michael O'Dwyer acted with decision and vigour in a time of great danger and that he was largely responsible for quelling a dangerous rising which might have had widespread and disastrous effects on the rest of India.

Reviewing the situation as a whole, we desire to express our great appreciation of the admirable conduct of the troops who were employed in the suppression of the outbreak. Leaving aside individual instances, which have already been noticed, both officers and men acted with admirable restraint under most trying circumstances and the Government of India have nothing but praise and gratitude for the services which they rendered in suppressing disorder and restoring the peace of the country.

The officers of the civil administration of all classes and ranks in the affected areas generally maintained that high standard of conduct and devotion to duty which the Government of India would have expected of them. Thanks are due not only to those who were immediately concerned in the restoration of order but also to those who by carrying on their ordinary duties with calmness and fortitude in a time of turmoil did much to restore the confidence of the people. The names of some of those officers who have been specially commended have already been referred to but if local Governments consider that there are other officers whose conduct merits special commendation, their names should be brought to notice at an early date.

To those non-officials who either did their best to stay the agitation which had so sinister a connection with the outbreak, or who by their influence and assistance helped the authorities to restore order, the grateful acknowledgments of the Government of India are due in full measure and local Governments will be asked to see that individual assistance of this kind does not go unacknowledged or unrewarded.

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It is a great satisfaction to the Government of India to notice that there were many of all classes and creeds who, in the face of frenzied mobs, and even at the risk of their lives, afforded assistance or showed compassion to the innocent victims of the outrages. Here again it is desired that all such actions shall be marked with a very definite acknowledgment or, in cases where such a course is suitable, be recompensed with a pecuniary reward.

44. The names of officers whose actions have been rightly criticised or condemned have been mentioned in the body of this despatch and local Governments will be requested to take such action as may be necessary to mark in these cases the disapprobation of the Government of India.

The case of General Dyer calls for separate mention. We have given most anxious consideration to the action of this officer at Jallianwala Bagh. We are satisfied that it was *bonâ fide* and dictated by a stern though misconceived sense of duty. The facts are abundantly clear. General Dyer has made no attempt to minimise his responsibility for the tragedy or even to put a favourable complexion on his action or purpose. The only justification that could be pleaded for his conduct would be military necessity arising out of the situation before him and in the area under his jurisdiction. In circumstances such as General Dyer was confronted with, an officer must act honestly and vigorously but with as much humanity as the case will permit. We recognise that in the face of a great crisis an officer may be thrown temporarily off the balance of his judgment and that much allowance must be made on this account. We recognise further that, however injurious in its ultimate effect General Dyer's action may have been, it resulted in an immediate discouragement of the forces of disorder. Nor have we overlooked our Resolution in which we promised full countenance and support to officers engaged in the onerous duty of suppressing disorder. Nevertheless, after carefully weighing all these factors, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that at Jallianwala Bagh General Dyer acted beyond the necessity of the case, beyond what any reasonable man could have thought to be necessary, and that he did not act with as much humanity as the case permitted. It is with pain that we arrive at this conclusion, for we are not forgetful of General Dyer's distinguished record as a soldier or of his gallant relief of the garrison at Thal during the recent Afghan war. We must however direct that the judgment above pronounced be communicated to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief with the request that he will take appropriate action.

45. We have on several occasions expressed our very great regret for the loss of life, European and Indian, which occurred in the disturbances and our sympathy with those who are left to mourn the victims of these unhappy events. We desire once again to convey regret and sympathy to all who have thus suffered. Compensation, so far as this can be any reparation, has been awarded to those to whom compensation was due under the law, and adequate provision has been, or will be, made for the dependents of Government servants who have lost their lives in the disturbances. The Punjab Government will also be enjoined to consider the cases of persons who have been left in want through the death or permanent injury of their supporters at Jallianwala Bagh, and to supplement, if necessary, any assistance that may have been rendered to such persons by local charity organisations.

46. We have now surveyed all the conclusions of the Committee. There remains, in our opinion, one lesson of supreme importance to be drawn from the

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events of April 1919. It will be impossible to dissociate memories of these disorders from the civil disobedience movement which was their chief immediate cause. When this movement was initiated, it was apparently not obvious to its promoters, as it was to all thoughtful persons, that in India in its present state of development (whatever may be the case in other countries) the unsettling effect of advice to the public in general to break selected laws was likely to lead to a situation which might involve the overthrow of all law and order. The bitter experience of last year removes this question from the category of doubt, and those who henceforth inaugurate such movements from whatever motives. cannot feel uncertain as to the consequences of invoking forces which they can neither direct nor control. We can only hope that this lesson has been learnt once for all, and that in the future all right-thinking persons will set their faces firmly against the deliberate playing with fire which is involved in the promotion of such movements.

Finally, we desire to express here our earnest hope that the lesson to be learned from these events is not of a merely negative character. Since the period which has formed the subject of this enquiry a new era has been inaugurated in India and the change has given occasion to a gracious proclamation by the King-Emperor, which has appealed to the hearts of all his subjects in India. We venture to recall at this time the salient feature in this gracious message; we feel confident that the earnest desire expressed by the King-Emperor that any trace of bitterness between his people and those responsible for his Government should be obliterated, will not pass unheeded.

47. In conclusion, we desire to express our thanks to Lord Hunter and the members of his Committee for the great ability and painstaking labour they have bestowed on an enquiry which from its very inception must have been a most difficult and seemingly thankless task, and for their report which has cleared up much that was in doubt and dispute, and which has been of the utmost service to us in arriving at just conclusions on the many questions that called for decision.

We have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient, humble Servants,

(Signed) CHELMSFORD.

" C. C. MONRO.

" G. S. BARNES.

" W. H. VINCENT.

" M. SHAFI.

" W. M. HAILEY.

" T. H. HOLLAND.

" A. P. MUDDIMAN.

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INDIA OFFICE, LONDON.

The 26th May 1920.

No. 108 PUBLIC.

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL.

MY LORD,

His Majesty's Government have considered the report of Lord Hunter's Committee upon the disturbances which occurred in the Punjab and other parts of India in the early part of last year. They have further been informed by me of the conclusions at which Your Excellency's Government had arrived in your own review of the report as expressed in your letter dated the 3rd May the text of which you have telegraphed to me. The report and your letter naturally cover ground which His Majesty's Government did not feel called upon to survey in detail, but their consideration of the matter has led them to definite decisions upon certain of the more important questions arising out of the report, and they have desired me to communicate to you in my reply to your letter their considered statement of these decisions. The paragraphs numbered 2 to 8 of this despatch contain accordingly this statement.

2. *General.*—The report of Lord Hunter's Committee presents the results of a prolonged and patient investigation. Their labours would be of little value if their very complete and careful findings are not put to a practical use. The conclusions here recorded have been inspired in the main by the belief that the chief duty which lies upon His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in utilising the report is not primarily to apportion blame to individuals for what has been done amiss or to visit penalties upon them, but rather to prevent the recurrence in the future of occasion for blame or regret should unfortunate circumstances ever produce again a situation such as that which occurred in India in the spring of 1919.

3. *The conduct of Brigadier-General Dyer at Amritsar on April the 13th.*—The main features of the occurrence at Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar City on the afternoon of April the 13th, 1919, are well known. They are set out at length in Lord Hunter's report and appear in minute detail in the evidence, both written and oral, given before the Committee by Brigadier-General Dyer himself, the full and authorised text of which is now available to the public. As to the facts, there is no doubt and no dispute, and it is only necessary here to recapitulate them very briefly in their baldest form. On the morning of April the 13th Brigadier-General Dyer, who had arrived at Amritsar on the night of the 11th, issued a proclamation forbidding *inter alia* processions to parade in or outside the city and declaring that "any such procession or gathering of four men will be looked upon and treated as an unlawful assembly and dispersed by force of arms if necessary." This proclamation was read out at various places in the city, in the course of the progress through the streets of a column of troops led by Brigadier-General Dyer personally, who left his quarters about 9 A.M. for this purpose and returned to them about 1-30 P.M. About an hour before his return to his quarters in Ram Bagh Brigadier-General Dyer had heard that despite his proclamation it was intended to hold a large meeting at Jallianwala Bagh at 4-30 that afternoon, and at 4 P.M. he received a message that a crowd of

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about 1,000 had already assembled there. Shortly after 4 P.M. Brigadier-General Dyer marched from Ram Bagh with picketing parties (as he had previously determined to picket the main gates of the city) and with a special party consisting of 50 Indian Infantry armed with rifles, 40 Indian Infantry armed only with "Kukris" (type of sword), and two armoured cars. He proceeded straight to Jallianwala Bagh dropping his picket parties *en route* and on arrival marched his infantry through a narrow lane into the Bagh and deployed them immediately right and left of the entrance. The armoured cars he left outside, as the lane was too narrow to admit them. Having deployed his troops Brigadier-General Dyer at once gave orders to open fire and continued a controlled fire on the dense crowd facing him in the enclosure (which he estimated at about 5,000 persons) for some 10 minutes until his ammunition supply was at the point of exhaustion. 1,650 rounds of ·303 mark VI ammunition were fired. The fatal casualties as the result of this action are believed to be 379; the number wounded has not been exactly ascertained, but is estimated by Lord Hunter's Committee at possibly three times the number of deaths. Immediately after giving orders to cease fire, Brigadier-General Dyer marched his troops back to Ram Bagh. The reasons given by General Dyer for the severity and duration of his fire are stated as follows in his written statement furnished to the General Staff (16th Indian Division) and subsequently laid before Lord Hunter's Committee: "We cannot be very brave unless we be possessed of a greater fear. I had considered the matter from every point of view. My duty and my military instincts told me to fire. My conscience was also clear on that point. What faced me was, what on the morrow would be the "Danda Fauj" [this, which may be translated as bludgeon army, was the name given to themselves by the rioters in Lahore]. I fired and continued to fire until the crowd dispersed, and I consider this is the least amount of firing which would produce the necessary moral and widespread effect it was my duty to produce if I was to justify my action. If more troops had been at hand, the casualties would have been greater in proportion. It *was no longer a question of merely dispersing the crowd,* but one of producing a sufficient moral effect, from a military point of view, not only on those who were present, but more especially throughout the Punjab. There could be no question of undue severity."

The principle which has consistently governed the policy of His Majesty's Government in directing the methods to be employed, when military action in support of the civil authority is required, may be broadly stated as using the minimum force necessary. His Majesty's Government are determined that this principle shall remain the primary factor of policy whenever circumstances unfortunately necessitate the suppression of civil disorder by military force within the British Empire.

It must regretfully but without possibility of doubt be concluded that Brigadier-General Dyer's action at Jallianwala Bagh was in complete violation of this principle. The task which confronted him was to disperse by force if necessary a large but apparently unarmed assembly which had gathered in defiance of his orders. It is possible that considering the strength of the military force at his disposal, the size of the crowd, and the general temper and attitude of the inhabitants of the city, he would have found it impossible to achieve this task effectively and completely without some firing and without causing some loss of life. But it is certain that he made no attempt to ascertain the minimum amount of force which he was

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compelled to employ, that the force which he actually employed was greatly in excess of that required to achieve the dispersal of the crowd, and that it resulted in lamentable and unnecessary loss of life and suffering. But this is not a full statement of Brigadier-General Dyer's error. There can be no doubt that large numbers of people in the assembly, many of whom were visitors to the city from surrounding villages, were ignorant of the existence of his proclamation and the danger which they ran by attending the gathering. The proclamation was published in only a portion of the city, that portion being some distance from the scene of the meeting, and no warning of any kind was given before fire was opened. It would be unfair, considering the state of the city, the heat of the weather and the strain to which the troops under General Dyer's command had been subjected since their arrival in the city to lay too great stress upon the first point, but the omission to give warning before fire was opened is inexcusable. Further, that Brigadier-General Dyer should have taken no steps to see that some attempt was made to give medical assistance to the dying and the wounded was an omission from his obvious duty. But the gravest feature of the case against Brigadier-General Dyer is his avowed conception of his duty in the circumstances which confronted him.

His Majesty's Government repudiate emphatically the doctrine upon which Brigadier-General Dyer based his action—action which to judge from his own statement might have taken an even more drastic form had he had a larger force at his disposal and had a physical accident not prevented him from using his armoured cars. They have not overlooked the extreme gravity of the situation as it presented itself to the authorities in India generally and to Brigadier-General Dyer in particular on April the 13th, nor have they failed to appreciate the immensity of the responsibility which Brigadier-General Dyer felt and rightly felt to be imposed upon him by that situation. They think it is possible that the danger to the lives of Europeans and to the safety of the British and Indian troops was greater than appears from the Committee's report. In Amritsar itself violent murder and arson of the most savage description had occurred three days previously and the city was still practically in possession of the mob. From the surrounding country-side reports were hourly being received of similar violent outbreaks and attacks upon communications, and the deficiencies in these reports (due to the success of the attacks on communications) were supplemented by rumours which there was little means of verifying and as little ground for disbelieving. In discharging this responsibility with the small force at his disposal Brigadier-General Dyer naturally could not dismiss from his mind the conditions in the Punjab generally and he was entitled to lay his plans with reference to those conditions. But he was not entitled to select for condign punishment an unarmed crowd which, when he inflicted that punishment, had committed no act of violence, had made no attempt to oppose him by force, and many members of which must have been unaware that they were disobeying his commands.

In passing judgment upon Brigadier-General Dyer for his action on April the 13th, it is impossible to disregard an order which he passed some six days later, and which has become generally known as the "crawling order." It is unnecessary here to repeat the nature of this order or the circumstances out of which it arose. Had the order been carried out as a punishment upon the persons actually guilty of the crime, which it was designed to stigmatise, it would have been difficult to defend; inflicted as it was upon persons who had no connection with

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that crime, with the object of impressing upon the public of Amritsar through the humiliation of those persons the enormity of the crime committed by certain individuals of that public, the order offended against every cannon of civilised Government.

Upon a military commander administering martial law in a hostile country there lies a grave responsibility; when he is compelled to exercise this responsibility over a population which owes allegiance and looks for protection to the Government which he himself is serving this burden is immeasurably enhanced. It would prejudice the public safety, with the preservation of which he is charged, to fetter his free judgment or action either by the prescription of rigid rules before the event or by over-censorious criticism when the crisis is past. A situation which is essentially military must be dealt with in the light of military considerations, which postulate breadth of view and due appreciation of all the possible contingencies. There are certain standards of conduct which no civilised Government can with impunity neglect, and which His Majesty's Government are determined to uphold. Subject to the due observance of those standards, an officer administering martial law must, and will, remain free to carry out the task imposed upon him in the manner which his judgment dictates to him as best and most effective, and may rely upon the unqualified support of his superiors when his task has been accomplished.

That Brigadier-General Dyer displayed honesty of purpose and unflinching adherence to his conception of his duty cannot for a moment be questioned. But his conception of his duty in the circumstances in which he was placed was so fundamentally at variance with that which His Majesty's Government have a right to expect from and a duty to enforce upon officers who hold His Majesty's commission, that it is impossible to regard him as fitted to remain entrusted with the responsibilities which his rank and position impose upon him. You have reported to me that the Commander-in-Chief has directed Brigadier-General Dyer to resign his appointment as Brigade Commander and has informed him that he would receive no further employment in India, and that you have concurred. I approve this decision and the circumstances of the case have been referred to the Army Council.

4. *The justification for the declaration and continuance of martial law.*—There are no grounds for questioning the decision of the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee that the declaration of martial law and the partial supersession of the ordinary tribunals in the districts of the Punjab in which martial law was applied were justified (Chapter XI, paragraph 17). As regards the dates to which it was prolonged, it is obvious that the institution of martial law involves the responsibility of deciding when it is to be revoked. The general principle is clear that martial law should remain in force no longer than the public safety demands, but beyond this there are no hard and fast criteria which can govern this decision, and a retrospective judgment in the light of after-events is not permissible. The fact that open disorder had ceased some time before martial law was revoked may have been due to the existence of martial law and its earlier abrogation might have been followed by a recrudescence. Looking back in the light of events, it is permissible to argue that an earlier abrogation was possible, though His Majesty's Government can feel little doubt that this argument would have been less pressed than it has been, had there been no grounds for complaint of the manner in which in some cases martial law was administered. But it is not permissible to condemn

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the authorities responsible for the decisions taken, who had to rely only on their anticipation of the future.

5. *The justification for Ordinance IV of 1919 giving the Martial Law Commissions jurisdiction to try any offence committed on or after March the 30th.*—The legality of this ordinance is not a point at issue; that question has been recently determined by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Nor is there any valid reason to question the propriety, when (as was the case here) it can legally be done, of ante-dating the effect of an enactment setting up special martial law tribunals and procedure, so as to bring within their jurisdiction persons charged with overt acts of violence, which were the immediate cause of and justification for the declaration of martial law. The original ordinance setting up Martial Law Commissions in the Lahore and Amritsar District gave the Commissions jurisdiction to try offences committed on or after April the 13th. Had this date remained unamended, it would have been impossible to try by Commission persons charged with actual participation in the murders, incendiarism and destruction of property which occurred on April the 10th at Amritsar, or persons charged with participation in the riots at Lahore on April the 10th, 11th and 12th, and in the murders at Kasur on the 12th; and if the Government of India with the legal power at their disposal had neglected to correct the anomaly to this extent, they would have omitted an obvious and necessary step towards the rapid restoration of normal conditions. But the use of the power which the ordinance gave in order to apply the special martial law method of trial to persons whose offence consisted in newspaper articles and speeches which were not demonstrably and immediately the cause of the outbreak of open disorder, stands on an entirely different footing and the terms " unfortunate " and " imprudent " which the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee applied to this policy are at all events not exaggerated criticism.

Taking into consideration the acts committed under Ordinance IV of 1919, which it is impossible not to disavow, His Majesty's Government can feel little doubt that the terms of the ordinance itself were too wide, and that the drafting of any future ordinance of a similar kind should ensure due limits to its application.

6. *Administration of Martial Law.*—There is one question with regard to which it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee have failed to express themselves in terms which, unfortunately, the facts not only justify but necessitate. In paragraphs 16 to 25 of Chapter XII of their reports the majority have dealt with the " intensive " form generally which martial law assumed, and with certain specified instances of undue severity and of improper punishments or orders. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the instances which the Committee have enumerated in detail in both their reports, nor would any useful purpose be served by attempting to assess, with a view to penalties, the culpability of individual officers who were responsible for these orders, but whose conduct in other respects may have been free from blame or actually commendable. But His Majesty's Government must express strong disapproval of these orders and punishments, and ask me to leave to you the duty of seeing that this disapproval shall be unmistakably marked by censure or other action which seems to you necessary upon those who were responsible for them. The instances cited by the Committee gave justifiable ground for the assertion that the administration of martial law in the Punjab was marred by a spirit which promoted—not generally, but un-

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fortunately not uncommonly—the enforcement of punishments and orders calculated if not intended, to humiliate Indians as a race, to cause unwarranted inconvenience amounting on occasions to injustice, and to flout the standards of propriety and humanity, which the inhabitants not only of India in particular but of the civilised world in general have a right to demand of those set in authority over them. It is a matter for regret that, notwithstanding the conduct of the majority, there should have been some officers in the Punjab who appear to have overlooked the fact that they were administering martial law, not in order to subdue the population of a hostile country temporarily occupied as an act of war, but in order to deal promptly with those who had disturbed the peace of a population owing allegiance to the King-Emperor, and in the main profoundly loyal to that allegiance. It is difficult to believe that this would have occurred had the civil authority been able to retain a larger measure of contact with the administration of martial law, and it is of paramount importance, if in the future it should unfortunately be necessary to have recourse to martial law, that some system should be devised which will secure such contact effectively.

A review of the methods and results of the trials by the summary procedure of martial law tribunals would be uncalled for. It is not, however, improper to observe that marked attention has been directed to its disadvantages, and to the extreme divergence between the sentences required by the charges as presented to those courts and by the dictates of justice as they presented themselves to the reviewing authorities. It is to be hoped that, as a result of the experience thus gained, means will be devised whereby martial law tribunals can be improved if they have again to be employed.

7. *The use of bombing aeroplanes at Gujranwala.*—With regard to the use of bombing aeroplanes at Gujranwala on April the 14th, the majority of Lord Hunter's Committee expressed their views as follows: "As to the use of bombs from aeroplanes we do not think that this would be defended by any one save in cases of urgent need, in the absence of other means, and under the strictest limitations even then. In our opinion the first two of these conditions were present in full force" .... "We are not prepared to lay down as a charter for rioters that when they succeed in preventing the ordinary resources of Government from being utilised to suppress them, they are to be exempt from having to reckon with such resources as remain." They then proceed to state that no blame can be imputed to the flying officers concerned for carrying out the instructions given to them, but that the action taken under the instructions given illustrates their defectiveness and they conclude by a recommendation that the formulation of instructions to be given to flying officers in future in similar circumstances should form the subject of careful investigation.

In formulating these conclusions, His Majesty's Government desire to state clearly that reconnaissance, communications, propaganda-dropping and moral effect summarise the normal and correct use of aircraft under conditions of unrest in normally peaceful countries. But emergencies may occur when, owing to distances, or damage to communications, or both, and the progress of murderous mob violence and arson which there is no other means of checking, exceptions from this general position are not only justified but necessary. It is impossible to guarantee by general or special instructions that machine guns or bombs will affect only the crowd which would be justifiably fired upon if troops were available on the ground. But in future explicit orders must be required for the employment of

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armed aircraft in such emergencies: these orders should be issued in writing by a civil authority, and should authorise only a limited amount of bombing and machine gunfire to be employed to overawe mobs, which are, so far as the airman can judge, actually engaged in crimes of violence. The Government will see to it that instructions on these lines are issued as soon as possible. They regretfully agree with Lord Hunter's Committee that the instructions issued to the airmen who visited Gujranwala on this occasion left much to be desired in precision.

8. *Sir Michael O'Dwyer.*—It follows from what has been said in earlier paragraphs that on certain points arising out of this enquiry His Majesty's Government do not regard Sir Michael O'Dwyer as immune from criticism. Thus they cannot endorse the unqualified approval which he accorded on insufficient information to the action of Brigadier-General Dyer at Jallianwala Bagh and they think it unfortunate that he did not adhere at the time to his first impulse to withhold both praise and blame on a matter with which as a civil officer he was not in the circumstances directly concerned. The motives which evidently prompted him to adopt another attitude and to maintain that attitude subsequently and in the light of fuller knowledge are less open to criticism.

Secondly, the opinion already expressed on the application of martial law procedure to certain trials must be taken as applying to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in so far as he was personally responsible for the action in question. As regards the administration of martial law generally Sir Michael O'Dwyer had evidently contemplated arrangements by which civil officers would be accorded a recognised position to advise on military administration, and the martial law manual which your Government have under consideration should ensure that in future this plan is brought into operation.

With the general question of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's administration of the Punjab His Majesty's Government are not now immediately concerned. They recognise that it has formed the subject of much controversy in India and that a widespread impression has been engineered that the Punjab Government under his direction was hostile to the educated classes and was determined to suppress not only illegitimate but also legitimate and constitutional political agitation. While they sincerely trust that this atmosphere may be dispelled, they are fully conscious of the difficulties of the situation with which he was faced. Conspiracy, the activity of enemy agents, the rise in the cost of living and the necessity of furnishing the bulk of the vast number of recruits for the Indian Army which the needs of the Empire required, though fortunately powerless to disturb the loyalty of the province as a whole, caused constant anxiety throughout his term of office. That term is now closed, a long and honoured connection with India is ended, and His Majesty's Government desire here to pay a tribute to the great energy, decision and courage which Sir Michael O'Dwyer brought to his task through a period of exceptional difficulty and to express their appreciation of his services.

9. As to the conclusions which Your Excellency's Government have recorded on other matters arising out of this report, I am glad to find that I am in general accord with your views, save in so far as otherwise appears from the foregoing paragraphs and I have little further to add at the present moment. Your Excellency's Government will, however, understand that the publication of documents in which the public, both in India and in this country, is vitally interested is not necessarily a final settlement of all the large questions involved. In particular I

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shall expect you to submit for my early approval the draft of the martial law manual which you have under consideration. To this matter I attach the utmost importance. I need hardly say that I most earnestly trust that occasion may never arise for the enforcement of such rules. But this enquiry will have served a valuable purpose if it results in the enactment of a code of regulations calculated to ensure, so far as human foresight can serve, a system of administration which is at once adequate to repress disorder, to secure the speedy, just and fitting punishment of its promoters, and which yet subverts no more than the fulfilment of these requirements necessitates the ordinary rights and course of life of the people at large, and adheres to the processes of civil justice and Government. For in view of conditions which threaten the existence of the State, martial law is a necessary remedy, but it is a remedy which unless applied with wisdom and good judgment loses its value. It is therefore incumbent upon us to do all in our power to prevent the depreciation of its value by misuse. The same observations apply in my judgment to deportation, an expedient which in its present form it is so notoriously difficult to employ and the effects of which are so incapable of exact estimation.

10. His Majesty's Government found it necessary to criticise in strong terms the conduct of certain officers charged with the administration of martial law and Your Excellency's Government have indicated that all proved cases of abuse of their powers on the part of the subordinate officers of the police and other services will receive due notice. But these exceptions apart His Majesty's Government desire me to express to you in no uncertain terms their warm endorsement of your appreciation of the conduct of officers and men, both civil and military, both British and Indian, upon whom fell the heavy task of assisting the people of India to recover their fair name for loyalty and orderliness. The burden thus imposed upon officers and men of His Majesty's British and Indian armies, of his police force and of his civil services who had already borne with fortitude but not without fatigue the trials and strain arising from a long drawn war, was a heavy one. In setting themselves to their task these men proved true to the great traditions of their services.

His Majesty's Government wish further to express the profound regret which they, equally with Your Excellency's Government, feel for the loss of life which these disturbances occasioned, and their deep sympathy with those to whom the events have brought personal bereavement.

11. In conclusion I am glad to have this opportunity of assuring Your Excellency of the sense of obligation which His Majesty's Government feel to you personally for the manner in which you have fulfilled your high trust. Great as is always the burden borne by the Governor General of India, world-wide circumstances have combined to lay upon you a degree of anxiety such as has only at long intervals fallen upon any of your illustrious predecessors. His Majesty's Government desire that you should be fortified by the knowledge that they continue to repose the fullest confidence in Your Excellency's discretion, inspired as they feel certain it has constantly been by the single aim of the good of the peoples whose Government is committed to your charge.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant.

(Sd.) EDWIN S. MONTAGU.

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APPENDIX II'.

A.—The First Elections.

Province.	Total number of voters for each Council.			Total number of votes polled in contested elections in each province at the last election.		
	Provincial Council.	Legislative Assembly.	Council of State.	Provincial Council.	Legislative Assembly.	Council of State.
Madras	1,248,156	260,486	2,290	303,558	60,615	1,694
Bombay	548,293	129,294	2,676	163,180	5,832	2,045
Bengal	1,019,906	184,266	2,226	292,828	42,065	1,132
United Provinces	1,347,922	167,965	2,912	332,990	35,848	774
Punjab	505,361	53,015	1,910	130,152	16,226	838
Bihar and Orissa	328,304	65,992	1,666	98,829	14,967	700
Central Provinces	144,737	24,496	919	11,566	4,699	235
Assam	203,191	19,503	301	33,352	2,308	176
Burma	..	1,550	2,464	..	..	379
Delhi	..	3,307	..	..	335	..

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B.—The composition of each council established under the rules as finally made is shown in the following table :—

Provinces.	Total (*ex-officio*, nominated and elected).	NOMINATED.			ELECTED.														
						BY SPECIAL ELECTORATES.				BY COMMUNAL ELECTORATES.							BY GENERAL ELECTORATES.		
											Rural.	Urban.						Rural.	Urban.
		Total (nominated and *ex-officio*).	Officials (nominated and *ex-officio*).*	Non-officials.	Total (elected).	Total.	University.	Land-holders.	Commerce and Industry including mining and planting.	Total.	Muhammadans.	Muhammadans.	Europeans.	Anglo-Indians.	Indian Christians.	Sikhs.	Total.	Non-Muhammadans.	Non-Muhammadans.
1. Madras . .	127	29	23	6	98	13	1	6	6	20	11	2	1	1	5	..	65	56	9
2. Bombay . .	111	25	20	5	86	11	1	3	7	29	22	5	2	..	..	..	46	35	11
3. Bengal . .	†139	26	20	6	†113	†21	†1	5	15	46	33	6	5	2	..	..	46	35	11
4. United Provinces	123	23	18	5	100	10	1	6	3	30	25	4	1	..	..	..	60	52	8
5. Punjab . .	93	22	16	6	71	7	1	4	2	44	27	5	..	..	..	12	20	13	7
6. Bihar and Orissa	103	27	20	7	76	9	1	5	3	19	15	3	1	..	..	..	48	42	6
7. Central Provinces ‡	70	16	10	6	54	7	§1	3	3	7	6	1	..	..	..	..	40	31	9
8. Assam . .	53	14	9	5	39	6	..	..	6	12	12	..	..	..	..	..	21	20	‖ 1

* This column shows the maximum number of officials who may be nominated under the rules. It is open to the Governor to nominate fewer officials with a corresponding increase in the number of nominated non-officials shown in the next column.
† There will later be an additional elected seat for Dacca University with consequent increases of one in the figures shown in these columns.
‡ Members to be nominated as the result of elections held in Berar have been shown as elected. *Vide* section 7 (2) (*c*) of the Act.
§ Pending constitution of the Nagpur University, this elected seat will be in abeyance, and an additional nominated seat will be reserved for the interests of University education.
‖ This seat (Shillong) is filled by a general electorate including Muhammadans, there being no separate Muhammadan urban constituency.

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C.—*Statement showing the Constitution of the Legislative Assembly (Excluding the President).*

—	Nominated Members.			Elected Members.							
	Officials.	Non-Officials.	Total.	General.	Muslim.	Sikh.	Land-owners.	European.	Indian Commerce.	Total.	Grand Total.
Government of India . .	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
Madras	2	2	4	10	3	..	1	1	1	16	20
Bombay	2	4	6	7	4	..	1	2	2	16	22
Bengal	2	3	5	6	6	..	1	3	1	17	22
United Provinces . .	2	1	3	8	6	..	1	1	..	16	19
Punjab	1	1	2	3	6	2	1	..	..	12	14
Bihar and Orissa . .	1	1	2	8	3	..	1	..	..	12	14
Central Provinces . .	1	..	1	4*	1	..	1	..	..	6	7
Assam	1	..	1	2	1	..	..	1	..	4	5
Burma	1	..	1	3	..	..	..	1	..	4	5
Berar (Central Provinces) .	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Ajmere	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total .	25	15	40	51	30	2	7	9	4	103	143

* Including one technically nominated seat to be filled by nomination as the result of an election held in Berar.

D.—Statement showing the Constitution of the Council of State (Excluding the President).

—	Nominated Members.			Elected Members.					
	Officials.	Non-Officials.	Total.	General.	Muslim.	Sikh.	European Commerce.	Total.	Grand Total.
Government of India . .	12	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	12
Madras	1	1	2	4	1	..	..	5	7
Bombay	1	1	2	3	2	..	1	6	8
Bengal	1	1	2	3	2	..	1	6	8
United Provinces . . .	1	1	2	3	2	..	..	5	7
Punjab	1	2	3	1	1½	1	..	3½	6½
Bihar and Orissa . . .	1	..	1	2½	1	..	..	3½	4½
Burma	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	2	2
Central Provinces . . .	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	2
Assam.	..	..	..	½	½	..	..	1	1
Delhi	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total .	19	6	25	20	10	1	3	34	59

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APPENDIX IV.

Instructions to Governors.

Whereas by the Government of India Act, provision has been made for the gradual development of self-governing institutions in British India with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in that country as an integral part of Our Empire;

And whereas it is Our will and pleasure that, in the execution of the office of Governor in and over the Presidency of Fort St. George in Madras, you shall further the purposes of the said Act, to the end that the institutions and methods of government therein provided shall be laid upon the best and surest foundations, that the people of the said presidency shall acquire such habits of political action and respect such conventions as will best and soonest fit them for self-government, and that Our authority and the authority of Our Governor-General in Council shall be duly maintained;

Now, therefore, We do hereby direct and enjoin you and declare Our will and pleasure to be as follows:—

I. You shall do all that lies in your power to maintain standards of good administration; to encourage religious toleration, co-operation and goodwill among all classes and creeds; to ensure the probity of public finance and the solvency of the presidency; and to promote all measures making for the moral, social, and industrial welfare of the people, and tending to fit all classes of the population without distinction to take their due share in the public life and government of the country.

II. You shall bear in mind that it is necessary and expedient that those now and hereafter to be enfranchised shall appreciate the duties, responsibilities and advantages which spring from the privilege of enfranchisement; that is to say, that those who exercise the power henceforward entrusted to them of returning representatives to the legislative council, being enabled to perceive the effects of their choice of a representative, and that those who are returned to the council, being enabled to perceive the effects of their votes given therein, shall come to look for the redress of their grievances and the improvement of their condition to the working of representative institutions.

III. Inasmuch as certain matters have been reserved for the administration according to law of the Governor in Council, in respect of which the authority of Our Governor General in Council shall remain unimpaired, while certain other matters have been transferred to the administration of the Governor acting with a Minister, it will be for you so to regulate the business of the government of the presidency that, so far as may be possible, the responsibility for each of these respective classes of matters may be kept clear and distinct.

IV. Nevertheless, you shall encourage the habit of joint deliberation between yourself, your Councillors and your Ministers, in order that the experience of your official advisers may be at the disposal of your Ministers, and that the knowledge

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of your Ministers as to the wishes of the people may be at the disposal of your Councillors.

V. You shall assist Ministers by all the means in your power in the administration of the transferred subjects, and advise them in regard to their relations with the legislative council.

VI. In considering a Minister's advice and deciding whether or not there is sufficient cause in any case to dissent from his opinion, you shall have due regard to his relations with the legislative council and to the wishes of the people of the presidency as expressed by their representatives therein.

VII. But in addition to the general responsibilities with which you are, whether by statute or under this Instrument, charged, We do further hereby specially require and charge you :—

(1) to see that whatsoever measures are, in your opinion, necessary for maintaining safety and tranquillity in all parts of your presidency and for preventing occasions of religious or racial conflict, are duly taken, and that all orders issued by Our Secretary of State or by Our Governor General in Council on Our behalf to whatever matters relating are duly complied with ;

(2) to take care that due provision shall be made for the advancement and social welfare of those classes amongst the people committed to your charge, who, whether on account of the smallness of their number or their lack of educational or material advantages or from any other cause, specially rely upon Our protection, and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action, and that such classes shall not suffer, or have cause to fear, neglect or oppression ;

(3) to see that no order of your Government and no Act of your legislative council shall be so framed that any of the diverse interests of or arising from race, religion, education, social condition, wealth or any other circumstance, may receive unfair advantage, or may unfairly be deprived of privileges or advantages which they have heretofore enjoyed, or be excluded from the enjoyment of benefits which may hereafter be conferred on the people at large ;

(4) to safeguard all members of Our services employed in the said presidency in the legitimate exercise of their functions, and in the enjoyment of all recognised rights and privileges, and to see that your Government order all things justly and reasonably in their regard, and that due obedience is paid to all just and reasonable orders and diligence shown in their execution ;

(5) to take care that, while the people inhabiting the said presidency shall enjoy all facilities for the development of commercial and industrial undertakings, no monopoly or special privilege which is against the common interest shall be established, and no unfair discrimination shall be made in matters affecting commercial or industrial interests.

VIII. And We do hereby charge you to communicate these Our Instructions to the Members of your Executive Council and your Ministers and to publish the same in your presidency in such manner as you may think fit.

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APPENDIX V.

Change in the Congress Creed.

Article I of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress as adopted by the Congress of 1908.

The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, economic, and industrial resources of the country.

Article I of the Constitution of the Indian National Congress as amended by the Congress of 1920.

The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.

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APPENDIX VI.

A Summary of the Esher Committee's Report.

The recommendations cover nine parts, with two separate minutes by Sir Krishna Gupta and Sir Umar Hayat Khan. Part I contains the basic principles of the recommendations, while the subsequent parts deal with the important matter of administrative details. Part I was submitted to the Secretary of State on November 3, 1919, and in the course of a covering letter the Committee desire to obtain an indication of the advice of His Majesty's Government upon the principal questions covered by this part before they could proceed to a laborious examination of details. At the outset it is made clear that the Committee tried to avoid the framing of recommendations that might prove inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards Dominion status, but particular stress is laid on the fact that whatever Imperial institutions, such as an Imperial Council or Cabinet, might evolve in the future the Committee had to proceed on the basis of existing institutions and present conditions in India.

The Committee consider that in order to conduce to a sound Imperial military system their proposal should be consistent with (1) Control of the Government of India over Indian military affairs; (2) Giving to the Government of India a voice in questions of Imperial defence; and (3) Allowing the Imperial General Staff, through its Chief, to exercise a considerable influence on the military policy of the Government of India.

Less India Office Control.

Dealing with relations between the India Office and the Government of India the Committee hold parliamentary control ineffective and describe the control of the India Office as merely control of one bureaucracy over another. The existing system undoubtedly caused delay in dealing with military questions requiring rapid settlement in the interest of the efficiency and contentment of the Army, and it is therefore recommended that greater latitude should be allowed to the Governor-General in Council and the Commander-in-Chief in India in matters affecting internal military administration.

Freedom of direct communication of a military nature between the Commander-in-Chief and the Imperial General Staff should be permanently established and the India Office is to be kept fully informed of such communications through the Secretary in the Military Department of the India Office, who would be an officer with Indian experience, of high military rank, appointed by the Secretary of State on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, and who would be accessible to the Army Council. It would be convenient and desirable if the same officer were Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff, but the sole adviser of the Secretary of State on Military matters should be the Chief of the Imperial

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General Staff himself. The Committee see no advantage in retaining a Military Member upon the India Council.

They suggest that the Indian Defence Committee which was set up in India during the war, and which served a very useful purpose, should not be allowed to disappear. The secretary to this Defence Committee must be a member of the Governor-General in Council's private Secretariat, and should have charge of records and the upkeep of war books. He would also be placed in direct touch with the Secretary of the Imperial Defence Committee, London, so as to ensure uniformity of action consistent with local conditions.

The High Command.

Coming to the question of the high command in India the Report considers it would be unsuited to Indian requirements to establish in India a civilian member of the Executive Council responsible for the Army and an Army Council with collective responsibility, because the Commander-in-Chief ought to have no military colleague or competitor in his administration of the Army. The economic administration of Army funds should rest with the Commander-in-Chief, whose financial responsibility should not be divorced from his executive responsibilities. In short, any weakening of the authority of the Commander-in-Chief would be inadvisable.

A Military Council to assist the Commander-in-Chief should be established, consisting of high Staff officers but without collective responsibility. Though unity of military administration in the Empire is out of the question, unity of conception on broad lines of military policy such as these, for which the Imperial General Staff should be responsible, is essential in the interests of India and the Empire. Therefore it is suggested that both the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief of the General Staff in India be appointed on recommendations of the Chief of the Imperial staff. If this system be established, the chain of military responsibility for questions of an Imperial character would be complete.

The Commander-in-Chief should never himself take the field in war, and in moments of tension he should not absent himself from the Council table of the Governor-General. The Army Department and Headquarters Staff ought to be consolidated under one head with a single secretariat, so as to avoid duality of functions. The Commander-in-Chief could be relieved of considerable technical responsibility if he were excused attendance at Executive and Legislative Councils except on matters affecting military interests.

This part of the report is not signed by Sir Krishna Gupta and Sir Umar Hayat.

Part II.

Function of Military Council.

The proposals in Part I having been accepted in the main by the Secretary of State, the Committee explain in the second part the functions to be imposed upon the Military Council and certain proposals regarding military finance, in all of which they were guided "by considerations of the efficiency of the Army in war with due regard to the Indian Tax-payers' interests." Recent experience and the changing conditions of India render it necessary to relieve the Commander-in-Chief of the heavy burden now devolving upon him.

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The majority, consisting of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Sir Herbert Cox, Sir Claud Jacob, Sir Godfrey Fell, Sir W. Gillman and Sir K. Gupta, incline to the view that military production and provision, as also the administration of the Royal Indian Marine, should be entrusted to a department to be called "The Department of Munitions and Marine" in charge of a civilian member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, while the minority, composed of Lord Esher, Sir John Du Cane, Sir Havelock Huteson and Sir Umar Hayat Khan, favour a solution by appointing a civil member of the Commander-in-Chief's Military Council and placing the Royal Indian Marine directly under the Commander-in-Chief.

Against the idea of placing a civilian under the immediate and direct control of the Commander-in-Chief the majority point to the enormous difficulties that would rise in future in regard to Labour and the growth of trade unionism, which would affect the working of Government factories. Under the Reforms Scheme the responsibility for the expenditure of nearly half of the total revenues would rest on the shoulders of one man (the Commander-in-Chief) and therefore the creation of a separate Department for production and provision would result in their opinion in increased efficiency and consequent economy, thus tending to minimise public criticism.

The minority challenge these majority conclusions as being irreconcilable with the fundamental principle of concentrating the command and administration of the Army in the hands of a single responsible authority. The civilian member, according to the minority, should be called "the Surveyor-General of Supply," and he should be a member of the Military Council, in which capacity he would be in constant touch with military colleagues.

Further relief could be afforded to the Commander-in-Chief if the Secretary, Army Headquarters, or one of the members of the Military Council were authorised to attend meetings of the Legislative and Executive Councils on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief in order to explain questions of military administration, as also before the Viceroy. The Committee as a whole think that the Commander-in-Chief should be President of the Military Council, of which the members should be: (1) The Chief of the General Staff; (2) The Adjutant General; (3) the Quarter-master-General; (4) the Financial Adviser; and (5) The Civil Member and Secretary, Army Headquarters, with a proviso that in the event of the minority view prevailing, the Council would include a Surveyor-General of Supply.

As regards function the Council can have no collective responsibility, and one of their principal duties is to watch the progress of military expenditure with a view to securing the economical use of Army funds.

Other recommendations include that the system under which financial control is now exercised at Army Headquarters should be continued, but with Deputy Financial Advisers in each of the principal spending branches. General Du Cane, however, suggests that the Financial Adviser should be an official of Army Headquarters and not of the Finance Department.

Part III.

Fourteen Military Districts.

Part III deals exclusively with decentralisation and liaison, and after examining the present organisation of the commands in India draws attention to the pro-

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posal that India should be divided into fourteen separate areas, to be called districts, in order to provide a link between Army Headquarters and the districts with a view to avoid return to the state of affairs which existed before the war.

The Committee recommend the creation of four Commands, each under an Army Commander graded as General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, with an adequate staff. These commands will comprise districts each containing a certain number of brigade commands. Burma should form an independent district, and several districts should be classified according to their importance.

This part of the Report also deals with internal security and liaison between the military and civil authorities, and urges the importance of establishing close and regular liaison with the provincial Governments and the extension of Indian military and civil intelligence in the Near and Far East, Europe, America and Africa, with a view to counteract seditious and revolutionary movements calculated to tamper with the loyalty of the troops.

Lastly the Committee emphasise the importance of propaganda and the greater use of the Press, adding that the value of the Press in India as a medium for information appears to have been neglected in the past.

Part IV.

The Committee believe that the last war has made it clear that India's partnership in the Empire demanded that the organisation of her forces should conform closely to the rest of the forces of the Empire. For the attainment of this object Part IV suggests steps so as to secure closer relations between the British and Indian Armies. The recommendations therefore aim at the assimilation of conditions, closer liaison, uniformity of ideals and the interchange of officers among the British and Indian services. As regards regimental officers the Committee recommend a scheme for fusing closer the connection between the British officers' cadre of the Indian Army and that of the British Army. The war has shown the necessity for assimilating so far as practicable the organisation and system of administration of services concerned with the feeding of the Army transport, stores, medical assistance and signalling.

Corps Unification.

After detailed examination the Committee consider the complete fusion of the Royal Army Service Corps and the Supply and Transport Corps as yet impracticable, but desire a move in the direction of unification of the two corps.

Coming to the Veterinary Service the Report approves the scheme of reorganisation now under the consideration of the Government of India, but suggests the admission of qualified Indians to Commissions in the Veterinary Services by removing the existing racial bar.

The personnel of the Signal Service should be definitely posted to the corps. A joint service called the Army Ordnance Corps, India, be formed.

The Committee then proceed to examine the possibility of unification of the two medical organisations, *viz.*, the Indian Medical Service and the Royal Army Medical Corps. After a critical examination of various suggestions put forward by responsible authorities the Committee are reluctantly forced to say that the amalgamation of the two services at present is impracticable. They, however,

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suggest some reforms to secure more harmonious working and closer co-operation between these two services.

Conditions in India are such that the amalgamation of Pioneers and Engineers is not advisable in the organisation at Army Headquarters. Field engineers' training should be co-ordinated by a senior Royal Engineer officer affiliated to the General Staff and that the Military Works Services should become a directorate under the Quartermaster-General. In the commands Chief Engineers should be retained.

The Committee emphasise the need for closer co-operation in training and military education between the Home and Indian Armies. As for the higher appointments, if the Commander-in-Chief belongs to the British service two of his three principal Staff officers (C.G.S., A.G. and Q.M.G.) should belong to the Indian Army, while if the Commander-in-Chief belongs to the Indian Army two of the principal staff officers should come from the British service.

Part V.

Better Service Conditions.

Particular attention is devoted in this part to the amelioration of the general conditions of service in the Indian Army as regards both British and other ranks. The Committee are aware of the spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction in both armies arising, *inter alia*, out of the complexity of the regulations governing pay, leave and travelling allowances and want of suitable accommodation. After emphasising the necessity of a complete revision of the regulations they urge that considerations of finance should not be allowed to postpone the urgent work of providing suitable accommodation, as otherwise it will affect the efficiency of the Army. Recent changes and reforms have no doubt proved another unsettling factor in the minds of British officers, but this feeling will, it is hoped, pass away in time.

The Committee's intention is to render military service sufficiently attractive to secure a constant flow of the best of the Sandhurst cadets and to ensure that officers who are selected for that Army and British Service officers while stationed in India remain contented throughout the service. With this object in view they propose several practical and detailed suggestions regarding pay and pensions concessions, travelling and detention allowances, medical attendance, family pension funds, etc. They are convinced that each mounted officer should be provided free of charge with the authorised number of chargers, as also hospital accommodation for the wives and families of British officers in places where European doctors are available. In applying a uniform rate of pay to all British officers in India, or in service elsewhere, the Committee suggest that the present system of fixing pay on the Rupee basis be continued, that the pay of ranks of officers be assimilated to the consolidated pay of British Service officers in India of corresponding rank and length of service, that all officers be given an allowance of Rs. 100 per month except when serving as departmental or Staff officers on consolidated rates of pay, that consolidated pay should include the element of certain overseas expatriation allowance, etc.

In making some improvement in barracks accommodation, state of regimental institutes, church parade service, etc., the Committee remark that present-day soldiers have neither deep-seated discipline nor long-suffering patience. Their

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responsible aspirations must therefore be met and their idiosyncracies sympathetically studied if they are to be contented while serving in India.

Position of Indian Officers.

In regard to Indian officers the Committee assert that there is a feeling among them that they can never rise higher in rank than Risaldar-Major or Subadar-Major. Their disabilities are due to want of education, which is now one of the essential conditions of leadership. Nevertheless it is not forgotten that they have displayed a devotion to duty which is beyond praise. All Risaldars are placed on the same scale of pay and specific recommendations are also made regarding additional regimental pay of Indian Adjutants and Indian Quartermasters of units, as they are usually the best educated and smartest of young Indian officers. Believing that it would be much to the benefit of the country if the sons of brave and loyal gentlemen are given opportunities to fit themselves to compete on something approaching equal terms with the sons of the more wealthy classes the Committee welcome the establishment of "Kitchener College," which seems likely to meet the need.

Indian Military College.

The Indian members of the Committee raised the question of instituting an Indian Sandhurst, but they agreed eventually that the time is not yet ripe for consideration of such a scheme.

In regard to family pensions the Committee feel very strongly that any Government which sends a married soldier of any race to a war in which he loses his life should be actually responsible for providing a pension sufficient to keep his widow and children from want, and should not make its contribution dependent on the intricacies of a family system into which it cannot penetrate. Any grants of land to soldiers should be on "service terms," and grants of land abroad to deserving Indian officers and soldiers should be kept in view by the Government of India and, if possible, land in British Guiana or East Africa might be granted to Indian settlers.

PART VI.

Territorial Force.

Part VI deals with the possibility of establishing an Indian Territorial Force. The Committee regret that the response to the Indian Defence Force, Indian section, was not encouraging, except the working of the University Corps, which offered the best material for a Territorial Force. They, however, recognise the need for a National Defence Force but apprehend some practical difficulties. Some students who were members of the Indian Defence Force took part in the Punjab disorders last year, and the highest military authorities therefore do not want to run more risks than necessary so that the same force which they may organise may not be used against them. The Committee therefore state that as the experiment is mainly of political or educational value the Government should start with 12 units, two in each of the bigger provinces and one in each of the smaller ones, on condition that no new unit should be added till the experiment proves successful. The expenditure incurred on account of this force should fall under the military head but not to the detriment of the regular Army.

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The Committee recommend that the Territorial Force should be formed on the following lines:—

(1) Recruitment be limited to urban areas and universities, and that rural units and companies should be discouraged if likely to compete with regular recruiting;

(2) Liability for general service should be insisted upon;

(3) Pay and allowances during training be at Indian Army rates;

(4) Commanding officers and Second-in-Commands of each unit be replaced by Indian officers when trained;

(5) There should be a Director of Auxiliary Forces at Army Headquarters; and

(6) The Grant of King's Commissions would be premature at the present stage.

Concluding the Committee claim that their recommendations are in "conformity with the Announcement of August 20."

Part VII.

Status of the Indian Marine.

Part VII deals with the Indian Marine. The Committee urge that the operations of the Indian Marine Services Act be extended so as to include all waters west of Suez, in order to legalise disciplinary action taken by marine officers in that part. Further, it would be advantageous to hand over the lighting of the entire Indian coast, including the Persian Gulf, to the service. The Director of the Royal Indian Marine should be a Rear-Admiral on the active list with the status of Secretary to the Government of India, with powers to approach the Viceroy. The office of the Director should be in Bombay, while his deputy should remain at the headquarters of the Government of India. Regular recruitment should be done as in the Army, with headquarters at Ratnagiri. Suitable Indians should be given opportunities for education in the higher branches of seamanship, marine engineering, etc. The Committee consider it desirable that the Royal Indian Marine should be extended to enable it to undertake policing the Persian Gulf, and they feel confident that the raising of the status of the Marine Service would make it fit to meet both peace and war requirements.

Part VIII.

Supplementary Question.

Part VIII deals with a number of supplementary questions referred to the Committee by the Government of India for advice. Lord Esher and General Du Cane are not therefore responsible for these recommendations. The Committee after examining the existing regulations relating to the Indian Army Reserve of Officers suggest that these regulations should be so recast as to require all officers now under this Reserve to relinquish their appointments and a new Reserve of officers for the Army in India be formed, with a fixed establishment to be calculated for each arm and branch of the service on the basis of probable requirement in the event of war, with the result that this new Reserve of Officers would be organised with reference to the needs of the Army in India, whereas the existing

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reserve is for the Indian Army alone. This Reserve would as well provide officer reinforcements for all units serving in India, British and Indian alike.

Frontier Police Retained.

The Committee further advise that regimental followers should be enlisted and trained to arms sufficiently. Coming to military staff clerks they urge that military soldiers should be sparingly used for clerical duties and that the pay and privileges of clerical assistants in the principal branches of Headquarters should be the same as those in the Government of India Civil Secretariat. The provision of an adequate staff of Army Chaplains is requested to meet the need of various denominations. The Committee further think that the transfer to the Army of the responsibility of policing the North-East Frontier is not justified and hold that the existing system under which the Burma and Assam Military Police are controlled by the local Governments should not be changed.

Part IX.

General Conclusions.

In this part the Committee observe, "Fresh standards have been set up. The existing services require reorganisation and new services have to be developed and equipped." Accommodation for British and Indian troops requires to be improved. All these will involve heavy initial expenditure. It would be advantageous from both the financial and military point of view if the military authorities submitted to the Government of India a programme showing the capital expenditure entailed by the measures suggested by the Committee, so as to enable the latter to gauge their liabilities and to decide to what extent expenditure could be met and over what period the programme be spread.

Subject to the general control of the Secretary of State the Government of India should be the final authority in all questions of pay and allowances of the Indian Army, wherever they may be serving. This right needs to be explicitly safeguarded in view of past experience.

Sir Krishna Gupta, in the course of a minute, emphasises that the angle of vision in regard to military administration should be completely changed, so that the doors of all branches of the Army should be opened to Indians, not only to be consistent with the gradual approach of Indian autonomy but also as helping towards the attainment of such goal.

Sir Umar Hayat Khan, in a separate note, recommends drastic action against agitators tampering with the loyalty of the Army, and warns that any reforms in the Army should not be pushed through without caution and that the British element should be stiffened at whatever cost, and urges the recruitment of the right type of men for the Army.

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